GREAT BRITAIN's
JUST COMPLAINT
FOR HER

Late *Meaſures*, Preſent *Sufferings*,
And the Future *Miſeries* She is expoſed to.

With the Beſt, Safeſt, and moſt Effectual WAY
of Securing and Eſtabliſhing Her

Religion, Government,
Liberty & Property,
Upon Good and Laſting Foundations.

Fully and Clearly Diſcovered,

In ANSWER
To Two Late Pamphlets, concerning the
Pretended French Invaſion.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

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Late *Meaſures*, Preſent *Sufferings*, And the Future *Miſeries* She is expoſed to.

THE laſt great Revolution in *Britain* (which doth ſo much exerciſe the Heads, Hands, Purſes and Pens, of the Inhabitants of this Iſland) is not to be parallell'd by any inſtance from ancient or modern Hiſtory. When we have ranſack'd the Annals of all the Nations of *Europe*, and travell'd as far as the *Indies* to find an Example, we ſhall at laſt be forced to acknowledge, after all Circumſtances are exactly weighed, That we have been blindly following the Dictates of our own perſonal Prejudices and intoxicated Judgments, rather than tracing the Footſteps of our Predeceſſors, or of the moſt zealous Aſſertors of publick Liberties in other Nations. I do not deny, that in every Province and Kingdom of the Univerſe we may find Inſtances where Subjects have been at laſt neceſſitated by force of Arms to ſecure themſelves, their Religion and Liberties, againſt ſuch violent and repeated Acts of Tyranny in their Princes, as did viſibly endanger the Frame of the Government it ſelf, as well as the Safety of every Individual: And many Princes have loſt their Crowns by a tract of Cruelties and Exorbitances in Government, and an incorrigible Obſtinacy and Deafneſs to all the humble Petitions and repeated Complaints of their Subjects.

But we ſcorned to be confined within ſuch antient Rules, to be regulated by the Practices of our Forefathers, or to be taught at the Expence or by the Experience of others. We have walked without Guides, amidſt dark and dangerous Precipices: Our Fears have over-run our Reaſon; we have taken Things upon Truſt, without ſearching them to the bot-

rom; and we have been impoſed upon, *By the cunning and artificial Diſguiſes of ſelf-deſigning and ambitious Men*, to overlook a moſt infallible way of ſecuring Liberty and Property to all future Ages; which the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, and the hard Circumſtances *of our own King*, had put into our Hands. We have vacated a Throne, for the pretended Deſertion of a Prince, violently forced away by a ſurprizing Defection of his Children, Servants, Subjects and Soldiers; and under the terror of dangers threatning his Life and Liberty. We have juſtified this Severity, by enumerating Miſcarriages in Government; which, though Errors and Miſtakes, were very far from overturning Foundations; and which the King was put upon by the artifice and cunning of his Son in Law, who was graſping at his Crown: And we have obſtinately refuſed all Treaties, when offered; whereby Grievances might have been redreſſed, and provided againſt for the future; and we have ventured upon ſuch Steps as have no Precedent, and furniſhed an Example for Hiſtory, which will be found too deſperate and expenſive for imitation.

Yet ſo far hath this Poyſon ſpread and diffuſed it ſelf, that though the pretended Reaſons of our Proceedings appear at laſt *to be empty, falſe and forged*; though the principal Actors are aſhamed of their former grounds, and love the ſound of *Conqueſt* better than that of a *Deliverance*, and are countenanced in it by the *Practiſes* as well as *Inclination* and *Maxims* of our *preſent Monarch*; there are ſome People who would gladly continue the Cheat, and amuſe us ſtill with a Hodge-podge of *Right of Succeſſion*, *Election*, and *Conqueſt*, and the lofty and agreeable ſound of *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property*; which appear to be as little the care as they were the deſign of our *principal Reformers*.

Hence it is, That we have of late been entertained with two famous Pamphlets, the one entituled *The pretentions of the French Invaſion examined*; Licenſed, or rather written, by the E. of *Nottingham*: The other is *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invaſion*; which muſt be the Off-ſpring of a Perſon of equal Quality with the former, ſince his Character ſtamps it legitimate, without a Licenſe. Theſe two Pieces do not in the leaſt anſwer the Figure which the Authors, who are aſſign'd them, make in the World: For all along, they falſifie, diſguiſe, or abſolutely conceal Matter of Fact; they labour to impoſe Falſhoods for Truths, and their baſe Alloy as good Coin upon us: They advance Poſitions for undoubted Maxims, which have been controverted all the World over; and upon this Sandy Foundation they raiſe their Buildings; and their Reaſonings are either falſe, ſophiſticated, or moſt concluſive on the other ſide.

To make good this Charge, and to acquit my ſelf of the Duty I owe my Country and fellow Subjects, in contributing my Mite towards the rectifying their Judgments in ſuch a nice and important Affair, wherein our own

own Peace and Happineſs, as well as that of our Poſterity, is ſo much wrapt up. I ſhall endeavour to make a full and diſtinct Anſwer to theſe two Pamphlets, by a true unbyaſſed and impartial Deduction of Matter of Fact; by ſetting out the publick Councils, Deſigns, and Conduct of particular Perſons, in their true Light, without thoſe Diſguiſes which were Artfully thrown over them; and by their own Reaſons and Maxims, concluding a great deal more forcibly againſt themſelves: And to deal fairly by them, I ſhall confine my ſelf to thoſe very Arguments, which are aſſigned by the Author of *The Freneh Invaſion examined*, as the Motives upon which the Reſtauration of King *James* is deſired and endeavoured; *viz. The repairing the Injury done to the King, the ſettling the Government upon its old Baſis, the delivering us from the Oppreſſions we ſuffer under the preſent King, and the ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion for the future.*

There is no Engliſh-man but muſt allow theſe Conſiderations to be grave, weighty and important; and if as true as conſiderable, ſufficiently concluſive and perſuaſive for a ſpeedy Reſtauration. I will then enter upon a particular Enquiry; and I do not deſpair, before I have done, to eſtabliſh the Truth, as well as the Importance of thoſe Reaſons, againſt the Cavils of thoſe Authors. I joyn them together, becauſe their Reaſonings are much the ſame, equally levelled againſt the aforeſaid Motives, and muſt ſtand or fall together.

As to the firſt Motive *Of the repairing the Injury done to King* James: If it can be made appear, That he was unjuſtly, upon falſe Pretences, deprived of his Birth-right by his Subjects, who by Nature and Oaths were bound to defend him in it; then muſt it be acknowleged a Duty, by all, as well as thoſe Authors, to repair that Injury done him, *by reſtoring him to his Right again.* I ſhall apply my ſelf particularly to the clearing of the Injuſtice done him, ſince upon that a great part of the Controverſie depends, and moſt of the Reaſons aſſigned by theſe Authors againſt his Reſtauration will fall to the ground. In doing of which, I muſt look higher than the beginning of King *James*'s Reign; the early and unnatural Ambition of the P. of *Orange*, as well as the neceſſary connection and ſeries of Affairs, oblige me unto it.

It was not *The Danger which our Religion and Liberties were threatned with, from the Deſigns and bad Adminiſtration of King* James, *and a tender Regard to the* Britiſh *Subjects, for their Love and Reſpect to his deareſt Conſort and Himſelf, with the Intereſt which his Birth and Marriage gave him in us*, firſt induced the Prince of *Orange* to look towards theſe Kingdoms and our Affairs. The late King *Charles* (notwithſtanding all the Tenderneſs he had diſcovered for that Prince's Education, and Care for his Intereſts, in eſpouſing them ſo vigorouſly upon all occaſions againſt the States of *Holland*, who would gladly have ſecu-

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red themſelves, by depreſſing him and his Family, againſt thoſe prophetick Fears they lay under, for their beloved Rights and Liberties) was the firſt that felt the Effects of his Nephew's *towring* and *boundleſs* Ambition. No ſooner did the Prince of *Orange* find himſelf reinſtated, by the Authority and Intereſt of his Uncle, in the Poſts of Grandure poſſeſſed by his Father and Predeceſſors, and ſo put into a Condition to appear upon the Stage, and mingle in the greateſt Affairs of *Europe*, but he gave looſe Reins to his Ambition, to range where-ever it could perch and fix; without being reſtrained or frightned by thoſe common Rules or Barriers, which Morality and Religion had placed as Spoaks too mean in his Opinion to ſtop the Careere of a *bold* and *daring Spirit*.

Britain was the Place he fixed his Eye upon; neither could Relation, nor Gratitude, place any rubs in his way. The peaceable Temper of that Monarch, addicted to his Pleaſures, and his being without Children, the Religion of his Brother, and want of Male Iſſue, together with his own Alliance with the Royal Blood, and ſome Diſcontents of the People, which were begotten and heightned by the Addreſs and Malice of a few Grandees, promiſed him a plentiful Harveſt in return to his *Cabals* and *Cajoling Inſinuations*; upon which thoſe Grandees were applied unto; and as quick and hearty returns made by them, with aſſurance of Zeal, Dependance and Fidelity, being glad of ſo conſiderable a Support. Hence ſprang all thoſe *fatal Diviſions* which ſo long time exerciſed that *Prince*, his *Councils*, and *Parliaments*.

To ſpirit this Party in *England*, and to fix himſelf one Degree nearer the Crown, which he ſo much long'd for, the Prince made his Addreſſes, and was Married to the Lady *Mary*, much againſt the inclination both of the King and Duke, who did very well foreſee the Conſequence, and were afraid of ſo near a Conjunction with ſo reſtleſs a Spirit. But it is well known who diſpoſed the King to agree to the Match; for which, and other good Services then in *betraying his Maſter*, he is well rewarded now, rather than for any Merits he had to plead upon this Revolution.

After this Match, our Diviſions and Diſcontents paſt all Bounds; nothing leſs than the interruption of the Royal Line, by a Bill of Excluſion, would ſatisfy. I know the danger of our Religion, from a *Popiſh Succeſſour*, was pretended; but the Prince of *Orange*'s immediate Succeſſion to the Crown, in the Right of his Princeſs, was the thing truly intended by the Prince's Agents, and Privadoes: Nothing elſe, but ſuch a hidden ſecret Deſign, could have inclined ſo many Men of Senſe and Reaſon, to refuſe the great Conceſſions were offered 'em; which without Danger, or the bad Conſequences of neglecting a juſt Title, did equally ſecure Religion and Liberty. To this Project were Sacrificed all thoſe great and mighty Securities, which K. *Charles* would willingly

willingly have Granted in favour of our Religion and Liberties, to be rid of that troubleſome Bill of Excluſion; and thus we loſt the greateſt, and beſt Eſtabliſhment we ever had in our view; and which would legally, peaceably and willingly, have been ſetled upon us, without any farther trouble, danger, or expence: *So early did this Prince's Ambition become fatal to our Liberties and Properties.*

Hence ſprang all thoſe Councils and Meaſures, which did ſo much Diſcontent the People; and put that King upon the *Quo Warranto* Project, thereby to temper and qualifie Parliaments, which the *Cabals* and *Machinations* of the *Prince* had render'd ſo warm and uneaſie to him. Hence ſprang that Ferment, and thoſe bad Humors, which gave Life and Motion to the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invaſion and Pretences, who all along had been made a Stale by ſome; though the Prince lay cloſe at the bottom, and ſeemed to favour the Man; until at laſt he perceived that the Duke did in earneſt catch at that he ſo much longed for himſelf. With what regret, yea indignation, muſt every Engliſh Breaſt be filled upon a review of that bleſſed occaſion we loſt, which might have prevented our preſent Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and all thoſe Fears and Miſeries we are now groaning under, and know not when we ſhall be at an end of? It is with unſpeakable Grief I am obliged to remember ſo great a Loſs; nor do I mention any thing, but what is very well known for a Truth to ſome Perſons yet alive, and which I have ſeen clearly verified by ſome *convincing Diſpatches* which are yet extant, and which ſhall be carefully preſerved until they may be with ſafety produced. Doth not Sir *Will. Temple*, in his *Memoirs*, Licenſed and Publiſhed of late, acknowledge the greateſt part of what is here aſſerted? As if, in this reforming Age, People were to make their Court by publiſhing of Services, for which their Poſterity may have reaſon to curſe their Aſhes. Thus we ſee what fatal Influences the Prince of *Orange's* Ambition had ſcattered upon our Councils and Meaſures, during the latter end of K. *Charles* his Reign: Neither will he be found leſs active and ſucceſsful, by himſelf and Agents, during K. *James's* Adminiſtration, as will appear from a particular Enquiry into the pretended *Abdication*.

This ſtrange and myſterious Word, which to this day is not well underſtood, neither can be explained, nor rightly fitted to what was intended by it, either by the Authors of it, or by any body elſe, was firſt made uſe of in the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſome Ages ago; and begot that fatal Struggle between the *Anjouin* and *Arroganian* Factions, which at laſt quite ruin'd that flouriſhing Kingdom, and brought it under a foreign Yoke, under which it continues to this day. I ſhall not criticize upon it, nor examin how improperly it is applied in the Caſe of King *James*, (though that be obvious enough to any Man who underſtands the Civil Law, or the proper and genuine ſignification of the

the Word) but shall only enquire into the subject Matter, which according to the Sense of our Reformers, amounted to *Abdication* and a *Vacancy*; and that is King *James's Desertion* and *Invasion* of the Fundamental Laws and Liberties of *England*.

As to the first, How properly his being forced away may be called a *Desertion*, will best appear from a true Natrative of Matter of Fact; which I shall give the Reader: And though it may contain several things which are not generally known, and yet contribute exceedingly to the clearing of this point, I shall deliver nothing but Truths, which can be made evident, either by *Letters*, or *Evidence* above all Exception. No sooner was the Prince of *Orange* landed, but it quickly appeared to the World how strangely successful his Agents had been in their Negotiations. The Poyson was universally spread, and the Pretences of his *Declaration* greedily swallowed down without Examination; though I shall make it appear, before I have done, That it was partly forged, and nothing of it ever intended to be performed. There was nothing sound or untainted in the whole Kingdom: His Children run away from him; the Clergy juggle with him; his domestick and menial Servants betray him; his Subjects flock in to the Pr. of *Orange*; his Army desert; and the very Creatures which he had raised from the Dust form Designs to deliver up his Person.

Was not this a Scene, the most wonderful and astonishing that was ever presented upon the Stage of humane Affairs? What ground had the King to think that his Person could be with any manner of Safety, amongst a People who had thrown off all Tyes and Duties, which could rationally be depended upon in the like case? When that natural Affection which was due from Children to their Parents was quite forgotten; when the Love, Respect, Service, and Gratitude, which is due from Servants to their Master and Benefactor, was entirely thrown off, and unheard of Treachery cherished in their places? When that Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Prince was debauched, and running into another Channel? When that Fidelity, which was due from Soldiers, (both as Subjects, and Men who make a particular Profession of Honour,) to their Prince, General and Nursing Father, was so generally corrupted, that he was advertised by his General Officers, *That the Army was quite poysoned, and would not fight?* When his own Ministers and Counsellors were in Pay and Correspondence with the Invader, and pushing him into Councils and Measures, which might encrease the present Ferment, and facilitate the Prince's Designs? What hopes of Accommodation, or Assurance of Safety, could remain, without renouncing all Reason, Sense, and Discretion? Especially if we consider that as soon as the Account came that *Oxford's*, and St. *Alban's* Regiments of Horse commanded by *Langston*, and *Cornbury*, and *Heyfort* with their Dragoons, were

were deſerted and gone in to the Prince, he called his General Officers and Colonels together at *London*; amongſt which were *Churchil*, *Kirk*, *Trelauny*, *Grafton*, and others; and acquainted them, that he had called a free Parliament, that he was reſolved to ſecure Religion, Liberty and Property, at their Sitting. He Entreated theſe Officers to let him know if there was any thing farther which they deſired for the Security of their Religion and Liberties, and he would moſt willingly grant it; and withal deſired, That if there was any amongſt them who could not be ſatisfied, to let him know it, and he would frankly grant them Paſſes for themſelves and Equipage, to go in to the Prince. Upon which they all anſwer'd chearfully and unanimouſly *That they were fully ſatisfied, and would hazard their Blood, to the laſt drop, in his Service:* And yet how baſely and ungratefully ſome of them afterwards dealt by him, is too well known, and was enough to give that Prince juſt Jealouſies of his own Safety amongſt Men ſo loſt as to all ſenſe of Honour and Integrity.

And yet ſo loath was this Monarch to part from a People who had forſaken him firſt, though ſurrounded with Fears and Diſtractions, under which any other Perſon would have ſunck, that he made Offers of a Treaty; which the Prince accepted, not that he deſigned to come to any Settlement upon it, but becauſe he durſt not unmask himſelf ſo far as to refuſe it; and was in hopes to find ſome Pretext or other to break it off. Upon this, the Commiſſioners met on both ſides; but with little Inclination, on the Prince's part, to come to an Accommodation, which would have bereaved him of that *ſweet Morſel* he had been ſo long labouring for; Nay, he diſcovered ſo firm a Reſolution to attain his ends, without ſcrupling any thing, how ſevere ſoever, which could compaſs them; that thoſe noble Lords, who were empower'd by the King to treat for him, did acquaint his Majeſty with the inſuperable Difficulties they met with in their Negotiation; and that they thought themſelves bound in Duty to let him know that his Perſon was not in Safety under the *Power* of a Prince, who by the haughty and rigid Conditions he propoſed, or rather impoſed, and his ſtill marching on, notwithſtanding the Treaty, did viſibly enough diſcover ſome farther *hidden Deſign*. This muſt certainly be thought Warning enough from Perſons who were even then leaning to the ſtrongeſt ſide, and ſo would not have hazarded ſuch Advice, unleſs forced to it by Truth and Horror of the Deſign; or put upon it by the Prince himſelf, to frighten the King away, who was ſenſible his Stay did check his Deſigns, and ſo was reſolved to be rid of his Perſon ſome way or other.

Upon this, the King thought fit to withdraw; and afterwards ſent the E. of *Feverſham*, from that place, with ſuch ample Conceſſions, and ſuch real Diſcoveries of a ſincere Intention to ſatisfie his People to the full, that the Prince was extreamly

alarmed upon it, and did plainly ſee the miſcarriage and ruin of all his Deſigns, if *Feverſham's* Meſſage ſhould be imparted to the Engliſh who were about him; for though there were ſome, who upon all occaſions were forward enough to adviſe the utmoſt Severities againſt the King's Perſon, yet by far the greateſt part for Number, Intereſt and Quality, were at the bottom for an Accommodation with the King, which would have ſetled and bettered the Nation; but at the ſame time would have quite daſhed the Prince's Hopes and Expectations; and therefore ſome bold Stroke muſt be given, *That ſo much Patience, ſo great Labour, and ſo many Crimes might not be loſt*; the Publick Faith muſt be broken, and *Feverſham* muſt be ſecured, without ſo much as acquainting the Perſons of Quality of the Engliſh Nation who were about him with it, though all along he had pretended to act by their Advice. But in ſo nice a Conjunction he was afraid to truſt to their Affection, as knowing very well they would have pry'd more than was fitting, for his Intereſt, into the pretended Cauſe of the Earl's Confinement, and his Meſſage; the Goodneſs of which would certainly have preſerved the publick Faith inviolable in the Earl's Perſon, notwithſtanding the Crime alleged againſt him, and continued the Treaty; whereas by this Method the Meſſage was concealed, the Treaty was quite broken off, and the King would moſt certainly be frightned away. After ſuch a ſeries of Defection amongſt all ſorts of People, after ſuch an Advice ſent by Perſons whom he had truſted with the moſt important Concerns of His Crown and Kingdom, after ſuch an open Breach of the publick Faith, and after ſuch viſible and open Diſcoveries of the Prince's ſecret Deſigns and unlimited Ambition, a Paſſion which never ſcruples to ſacrifice every *Remora* to its Eſtabliſhment; Is there any cool and rational Man will cenſure the King's Conduct in disbanding that Army, which had for the moſt part made a Defection from him; and in taking care of his Perſon by a ſpeedy Retreat from amongſt ſuch wavering Subjects, dangerous and diſingenuous Enemies? But in farther Evidence of the King's unwillingneſs to part from his People, and of the Prince's fixed and determinate Reſolutions to force him to as great a diſtance as he could, being always jealous of a Reconcilement, which would have quite buried his ambitious Thoughts and Deſigns; I ſhall give the World a particular account of the moſt important Steps taken by either, Relative to their ſeveral Deſigns.

The King, when he came to *London*, ſent a Meſſage to Sir *Thomas Stamp* (late Mayor) and to Sir *Simon Lewis*, two eminent Aldermen of that City; deſiring them to acquaint their Brethren, and others of the Common-Council, That he was reſolved to put himſelf into the hands of the City, there to remain until by a free Parliament he had given

given all Satisfaction to his People, by ſecuring their Religion, Liberties and Properties, to the full; hoping, that in the mean time, they would take care to guard and ſecure his Perſon. The foreſaid Perſons communicated this Meſſage, as they were deſired; but by the influence and intereſt of Sir *Robert Clayton* the offer was refuſed, and the ſecurity of his Perſon would not be aſſured to him. Here is plain demonſtration, both of the King's *Willingneſs* to piece up with his People, and of the *Danger* which threatned his Perſon. When the King came from *Feverſham* to *White hall*, Monſieur *Zuyleſtein* delivered him, at *Somerſet-houſe*, a Letter from the Prince, which was deſigned to have reached him before he came from *Feverſham*; wherein he was Deſired, but in the Style of a Command, not to come any nearer *London* than *Rocheſter:* To which the King very meekly returned an Anſwer, *That he would have complied with the Letter, had it come ſooner to his hands.* Can there be any more doubt, after this, of the Prince's unjuſt and ambitious Deſigns, when he put ſuch a Reſtraint upon a Monarch in his own Dominions, whoſe undoubted Title he had acknowleged, both by his *Declaration* and a *Treaty?* This was a piece of Haughtineſs and Inſolence above all Example, except what his own future Practices have furniſhed us with.

As ſoon as the King came to *White-hall*, he wrote to the Prince, inviting him to St. *James's*, allowing him his own Dutch Guards to ſecure his Perſon, and aſſuring him, That upon their Interview he would fully ſatisfie the intent of his Declaration. But this was no ſatisfaction to the Prince: He had a ſecret and concealed aim at the Crown; and provided he could gain that point, he liked it the better, if Veſted with all the *Power* he ſo much complained of in his *Declaration:* His Conduct ſince hath ſufficiently cleared this to theſe Nations: An Interview, which was ſo much deſired by the King, did not ſuit with this darling Project; he could neither well ask it, nor expect to have it granted. Beſides, he found the Torrent of the Peoples Affections, which had run ſo ſwiftly towards himſelf, was then at a Stand, and in danger to be turned into another Channel, if the King remained at *White-hall*, and at liberty to apply himſelf to the regaining of his Subjects Hearts; which he was ſincerely reſolved to court and acquire at any rate, being free from the bad Influence and Advice of thoſe Miniſters which were in Confederacy with the Prince. Upon all which, it was reſolved that Count *Solmes* ſhould poſſeſs the ſeveral Poſts at *White-hall* with Dutch Guards, and make the *King* a *Priſoner:* And about two a Clock in the Morning he received Orders from the Prince, by the Mouths of three noble Lords, to be gone immediately from his own Palace; and accordingly he was ſent Priſoner to *Rocheſter*, attended by Dutch Guards, and all this performed with unſpeakable Rudeneſs and Indignities done to his Perſon.

He was disturbed at an unseasonable Hour, with a Sentence of *Banishment* from his own *PALACE*, passed upon him by his *Son in Law*, who pretended only to settle and fix his Crown by redressing of Grievances, and that Sentence pronounced unto him by three of his own *Subjects*, who accompanied it with some *unmannerly Severities*, which their *fears of a coarser Treatment*, if he staid, *put them upon*. He was refused his own Guards to attend him, and his own Coach to carry him to *Rochester*, though he declared, That he could not travel by Water in so cold a Season, against Wind and Tide, without greatly endangering his Health. *Good God!* that such *Barbarities* should be practised, and afterwards justified by *Christians*, which *Pagans* and *Infidels* would be ashamed of.

Whilst the King staid at *Rochester*, and during the *Sessions* of those Lords and Commons, who first put the *Administration* of AFFAIRS into the Prince's Hand, and moved for calling of the *Convention*, he sent a Message to the present Bishop of *Winchester*, which he desired might be communicated to the rest of the Bishops; acquainting him with his Resolutions to come either publickly or privately, and put himself into the Hands of my Lords the Bishops, to be under their Protection, until by their Advice he had fully settled and secured every thing in a free *Parliament*. This Message the Bishop of *Winchester* did impart to the rest; and their return to it was, That they could not receive him, either publickly or privately, under their Protection; for in that case they would be responsible for his Safety, and they were not in a Condition to secure him against the Ambition of the Prince, who was resolved to accomplish his Designs, and surrounded with so many Troops to support him in it. After so many *Advertisements* given him of the *Danger* his Person was in, by People who might know it, and whose Testimony was not to be suspected; and those Advertisements fortified and confirmed, by the Prince's strange and unaccountable Carriage, in breaking the publick Treaty, in imprisoning my Lord *Feversham* contraay to the publick Faith, thereby to elude the Effects of his Message, in refusing a personal Treaty, depriving him of his Liberty, putting him under Guards, and in banishing him imperiously and unmannerly from his own Houses. After so many fruitless *Applications* to the *Prince*, to the *City*, and to the *Bishops*, only to be secured as to his *Person*, until by a free *Parliament* he had given full *Satisfaction* to his People; Can there be any Person, who is not become Bankrupt to Common Sense and Reason, who will blame the King for withdrawing, and thereby endeavouring to put himself in Safety? And it is evident, notwithstanding all those ineffectual Applications, he was resolved upon every occasion to court his Subjects to return to their Duty: Witness his Letters addressed to several Members of his *Privy Council*; and also that

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Letter written from St. *Germains*, and designed for the *Convention* of Estates, which they would not so much as receive or read.

I would now gladly know after what manner, and upon what account, in what sense, and for what reason the King can be said to have Deserted. *Desertion*, according to common sense and acceptation, is *a voluntary Neglect and withdrawing his Person, Care and Influences, from attending that Administration*, Protection, *and Exercise of the Government, which is due from him to the People committed to his Charge*; when no *FORCE* compell'd him, no *DANGER* threatned him, and the PEOPLE were willing to retain him. Is this applicable to the King's Case? May not the Invading his Dominions with foreign Troops and an armed Power, the Imprisonment of his Person, putting him under Guards of Foreigners, and banishing him from his own Houses, be properly enough called a Force? May not those extraordinary Indignities done him by the Prince, and those Advertisements given him by several Persons of Quality, Knowlege, and Interest, of his hard and difficult Circumstances, be very well called Dangers, according to the common Rules of Prudence and Discretion? With what Sense can the universal Defection of his Children, Servants, Soldiers and Subjects, the rejecting all Treaties, whether Personal or by Proxie, the Refusal of all Applications made by him to the City, Bishops, and Convention of Estates, be understood an unwillingness in his Subjects to part with him, or a voluntary Withdrawing or Neglect on his side? We must renounce common Sense, and quite invert the Nature of Things, before a *Withdrawing so circumstantiated* will pass upon the sober part of Mankind for a *Desertion*.

Besides, it is a Maxim laid down by the Author of the *Pretences of the French Invasion examined*, p. 4. l. 3. and downwards, *That where a King or Queen is submitted to, and owned by Oaths, and other Methods required in such Cases, the King himself is not at Liberty to give up his own* Power, *and consequently cannot* Desert; *much less can the People wrest it from him. A Man hath himself much more Right to lay down that Power which is legally vested in him, than any other person or persons can have to take it from him.* I hope this learned Gentleman will allow us the Benefit of his own Maxims, which we are willing to admit of. It cannot be denied King *James* was submitted unto, and owned by Oaths and all other Methods required in such Cases; and so not at Liberty to give up his own Power, tho never so willing: And consequently this pretended Desertion must march off the Stage, according to the Author's own Rules.

But the Disbanding of the Army, in the Sense of this Author and others, was so illegal a Step, that it must pass for his *dissolving* of the *Government*. Why truly, common Prudence advised the Discarding of an Army which had dealt so treacherously with their Prince and Benefactor:

ctor: And I would gladly know, what Statute this Meaſure of the King's treſpaſſed upon. I challenge the Author to point it out to us. I have heard it alleged, That the King could not raiſe and maintain an Army, without the Conſent of Parliament: But his Power of Disbanding was never yet queſtioned, much leſs made a Crime: If the firſt be juſtifiable, the laſt muſt be much more ſo. From what hath been ſaid, I hope the *Deſertion* is quite ſhut out of doors: The Reaſons produced make unanſwerably againſt it; and the Pamphletteer's own Maxims knock it dead without Mercy; by which the greateſt part of the Author's Pamphlet and Reaſonings falls to the ground, ſince he goeth all along upon the Suppoſition *That the people were ſtill willing to have acknowleged his Rights, and ſecured their own; to have treated and come to an Accommodation with him:* As alſo, *That the Prince never propoſed any thing, but to have Grievances fairly redreſſed*; which was ſtill inſiſted on by the Prince and People in the moſt humble and uſual Methods: *But that the King wilfully deſerted, threw up the Government, refuſed all Treaties, and left them in a perfect Anarchy, to ſhift for themſelves.* The Falſity of all which is already plainly enough demonſtrated; and the *Abdication* muſt halt, having loſt the better half of its Foundation.

I come next to examine the Male-Adminiſtrations, which make up the other part of this Structure; in proſecution of which, I do not intend to play the Advocate, to defend and juſtifie any Breaches made upon the Laws and Liberties of my Country: I am as tender of thoſe great Concerns as any Man can be; I love them as well; I value them as high; and ſhall be always ready to hazard as far for their Eſtabliſhment, as a good Engliſhman, who knows their Worth, ought to do. And perhaps I have given better Evidences of this, than the Authors of theſe Pamphlets can bring for themſelves, notwithſtanding their Fuſtian Words and high Pretences.

But Miſtakes in Government will be ſlipping in under the beſt Reigns; and it is not every Error can furniſh a good Reaſon for ſuch important Revolutions, ſuch general Defections, ſuch deviations from that Duty which is due to Princes from the Obligation of Oaths, the Tyes of Nature, and the Laws of the Land; and for dethroning of Kings, inverting the Nature of the Monarchy, and the interrupting the Royal Line and Succeſſion. Such Alterations have been accompanied in all Ages with ſuch Confuſions, Convulſions, Blood, Ruine and Deſolation; that nothing but the neceſſary Reſcue of the Government it ſelf, and of all the publick and private Rights which are wrapt up in it, from a clear, plain, viſible, undeniable, and otherwiſe unavoidable Ruine and Deſtruction, with a Certainty and Conviction that the Remedy propoſed will prove feaſible and ſucceſsful, without running us into the ſame dangers and difficulties, can furniſh the leaſt ſhadow or pre-

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tence for Experiments which are to be attended with ſuch Dangers, founded upon the Breach of ſo many ſacred Tyes and Obligations, and ſupported with ſuch Expence of Blood and Treaſure.

We ought to be very ſure, That the Errors complained of would certainly have overturned all Foundations, and entirely robbed us of our Rights; That thoſe Errors did certainly ariſe from the natural Diſpoſition of the Prince himſelf, obſtinately and incorrigibly bent to purſue them to the utmoſt, whatever the Conſequence might be; and not rather from the Impulſe of corrupted Miniſters, from a Deſign to ruine him and make a Property of us, in ſerving the *Ambitious* but *Guilded Pretences* of ſome other Perſon; before we run headlong into ſuch Meaſures. But alas! I am afraid we are not able to ſtand this Tryal, which every cool and thinking Man muſt allow to be very reaſonable; and upon an exact and impartial Enquiry it will be found, That with all this Buſtle, Noiſe, Blood, Treaſure, and Pretence for publick Good and Liberty, we have been deſtroying what we would build up; *graſping unſucceſsfully* at that, amidſt the Dangers, Cruelties, and Expences of a War, and with the Breach of ſo many ſacred Tyes and Engagements, which we might have Inſured to our ſelves and Poſterity with much *Eaſe* and *Innocence*; and wreathing a Yoke about our Necks, which will gaul and pinch us more ſeverely than what we endeavoured to throw off.

The Male-Adminiſtrations charged upon King *James* by thoſe Pamphleteers, are ſhortly ſumm'd up by them in the *Weſtern Severities, the High Commiſſion, the turning out of Office all good* Proteſtants, *the attempting to reverſe all the* Penal Laws, *the putting unqualified Men into places of* Truſt, Profit *and* Power; *the Exerciſe of the* Diſpenſing Power, *the Excluding the Fellows of* Magdalen College, *and putting in* Papiſts; *with the Impriſonment and Tryal of the Biſhops.* It ſeems theſe Authors are of opinion that any Reaſons, how weak and unconcluſive ſoever they be, ſhould paſs as good Coin upon us, ſince they come from ſuch Magiſterial and Florid Pens. But if they deſigned that their Authority alone ſhould paſs for Reaſon amongſt us, they ought to have ſubjoyned their Names, to add thereby ſome Value and Weight to Arguments and Grounds, by far too weak in themſelves to ſupport ſo lofty a Building as is founded upon them. Some of the Miſgovernments here enumerated, which I have exactly Copied from p. 6. l. 8. and downwards, of *The Pretences of the French Invaſion examined*, are falſe; others maliciouſly aggravated; and the reſt the King was forced upon by the Importunity of Miniſters who were gained by the Prince, and offered ſuch Advices only with a deſign to render him odious to the People, and thereby to diſpoſe them for this happy Revolution, which hath ſince fallen out. But to examine them ſeverally:

As to the Weſtern Severities, I believe it will not be denied, even by

by this Government, that the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion was a Rebellion; and that the Lives and Fortunes of all engaged in it, were by the Laws of the Land forfeited to Juſtice. I am heartily ſorry that ſo much Blood was ſhed by the Hands of the common Executioner; but it is very well known to many Perſons of Honour and Quality, that thoſe great Severities were only to be aſcribed to the inſolent and cruel Tempers of *Jefferies*, *Pollexfen* and *Kirk*; That the King himſelf was extreamly offended at it, and immediately put a ſtop to their Proceedings ſo ſoon as he was acquainted with them: And it is ſtrange enough how this comes to be charged ſo home upon King *James*, by the Champions of this Government, ſince King *William*, by his advancing and employing of *Kirk* and *Pollexfen*, hath plainly diſcovered to the World, That either he did not look upon thoſe *Severities* to be *unſeaſonable* or *criminal*, or elſe that he loved them the better for their *cruel* and *bloody Diſpoſition*, as fitter for his *Service* and *Deſigns*; otherwiſe ſuch *Butchers* would not have been countenanced by a *Reforming Heroe*.

The *High-Commiſſion Court* I will not juſtifie: But we know very well *Who* adviſed it; and we ſee one of the moſt active Members of it in a fair Way to Preferment *now*; and certainly our preſent King would not honour ſuch a Man, or truſt his Affairs in his hands, if he lookt upon that *Commiſſion* to have been a good ground for *Abdication*.

The turning out of Office all good Proteſtants, and the putting of unqualified Men into all Places of Truſt, Profit *and* Power, is a large Strain of Eloquence, which though like the uſual Flights of the ſuppoſed Author, is too light and falſe for ſo grave and weighty a Subject: For many Places of Profit, Truſt, and Power, were kept filled with good and zealous *Proteſtants*; and we know to whoſe Councils and Advices, and at whoſe door we muſt charge the filling of ſo many Places of Truſt with unqualified Perſons. If an E. of *Sunderland* and L. *Churchill* had not been Miniſters of State and Favourites then, perhaps the *Loo* had not yet been exchanged for *Kenſington*. It is to their faithful Counſels and Influence we owe the Advancement of Father *Peters* to the Council Board; the new modelling of the Iriſh Army and Government; the *Magdalen-College* Reformation; the Regulation of *Corporations*; the *Cloſetting*, and the *Impriſonment* and *Tryal* of the *Biſhops*. And if ſo, there is a certain Prince who is really more guilty of thoſe Miſcarriages than the *Abdicated* Monarch, ſince he was the main Engine who ſet thoſe noble Lords to work; and I am afraid his Conduct ſince, when examined, will in a great meaſure make good the Charge.

It's natural enough for a Prince to carry ſome little Favour to thoſe of his own Religion, and eaſie for a treacherous Miniſter to trapan him into more Indulgence for them, than the Laws can well allow; and thoſe,

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two Lords being entirely devoted to the Advancement of the Prince's Deſigns, did employ their utmoſt Intereſt with the King to bring him into all thoſe Meaſures, which did ſo much favour and precipitate this Revolution. There were ſome faithful Servants who quickly diſcovered the *Roguery* of this, and ſtoutly made head againſt it; but a blind Zeal having betray'd the new *Converts* into thoſe Meaſures, and the *Time-ſerving Courtier* being joyned with the Pack, *Roguery* became too hard for true *Honeſty*: And yet it was with great difficulty, and matchleſs *Importunities*, the King was wrought upon to do ſeveral of thoſe Things which were the only *important* Errors. It is well known, That it was with no ſmall trouble he was prevailed upon to admit *Peters* to the Council-board. And as to the Regulating of Corporations, the King gave his Opinion againſt it to the very laſt; and I dare appeal to the Earl of *Bathe*, whoſe Teſtimony is not to be ſuſpected by this Government, if on his acceſs to the King, about the Regulations in thoſe Countries where he was Lieutenant, he did not diſcover the Truth of what I here aſſert, from the King's own Complaints to his Lordſhip, *How greatly he was importuned to give way to thoſe Meaſures, from which in his own Judgment he was ſo averſe.*

We might have continued Ignorant, in a great meaſure, of the Particulars of all this fine *Chriſtian* Policy, if upon the *Revolution* theſe honeſt Agents, in ſo good a Work, had not (by boaſting of their ſeveral Merits, Diligence and Activity, in betraying an honeſt hearted Prince, and ſo the more Credulous to his own Ruine) diſcovered all the Steps of this Intreigue: But in the Opinion of ſome every thing is lawful for the obtaining of a Crown. If it be alleged, that moſt certainly the Prince never dreamt of the Crown of *Britain*, until it was peſented to him, as a Reward from a grateful People for their Deliverance; his Promiſes of Places at Court, and Governments of Forts, before he came from *Holland*, which were only in the diſpoſal of the King of *Great Britain*; his Impriſonment of the E. of *Feverſham*, who was a publick Meſſenger, and Peer of *England*, and under the Cognizance of none but the King; his Impriſoning and Baniſhing King *James* from his own Palace, though acknowleged as the juſt Monarch by his own Declaration; his baniſhing the French Embaſſador out of *England*, as ſoon as he came to *London*, and before the Adminiſtration was put into his hands; by which theſe Kingdoms were engaged, without their own Conſent, in a War with *France*, without ſo much as any pretence of Entertainment given to their *Abdicated Monarch*, being a conſiderable time before K. *James*'s Retreat thither; were direct, poſitive and moſt ſolemn Acts of *Sovereignty*, before ever the Crown was conferr'd upon him; and are ſo many plain and evident *Indications* of that early Ambition I have charged upon him. And in further Evidence, that all his

Deſigns, from the very firſt, were aimed at the Crown; and the Crown veſted too with the moſt *towring Prerogatives*: When the *Convention* was deliberating upon ſome future Proviſions againſt Arbitrary Power, the Prince ſent my Lord *Wharton* to ſeveral Lords, and Mr. *Coulin* to Sir *Edward Seymor*, Mr. *Hambden*, *Boſcowen*, *Powel*, *Suinfen*, and other Commoners, to let them know, *That if the Houſes inſiſted ſo much upon Limitations, that he would return again, and leave them in the lurch to the Mercy of King* James: So generouſly tender was this great Deliverer, of our Religion and Liberty.

As to the *Diſpenſing Power* aſſumed by K. *James*, I do not pretend to juſtifie it. I am heartily ſorry that ſo ill a meaſure was taken, to carry on and eſtabliſh ſo deſirable and neceſſary a Good and Birth-right of Mankind, as *Liberty of Conſcience*, which carries its own native Beauty and Uſefulneſs ſo viſibly ſtampt upon it, as could never have failed to obtain an Eſtabliſhment from the Reaſon and Judgment of an Engliſh Parliament. But this would have ſo much united the Hearts and Affections of Engliſh Subjects with their King, and laid ſuch an invincible rub in the Way of the Prince's *Ambitious Deſigns*, that it became one of the niceſt and moſt tickliſh Points to manage, the hardeſt to ward off, and the moſt dexterous and artful part of their Game: There was no downright oppoſing of ſo general and deſirable a Good; it was eaſier to poyſon and divert it. The King was firſt put upon Eſtabliſhing this Liberty by a Proclamation, that ſo the Parliament might be prejudiced againſt a thing, (which otherwiſe they would have granted) upon the account of the firſt Meaſure taken about it: But finding that the general Good and Benefit, which was to be reaped from this Liberty, would have digeſted and ſweetned this Pill; from a Pretence of ſaving the King's *Honour* from a *Foyl*, and making all ſure, though really with a *Deſign* to *ruine* him, and *baffle* the Thing, they put him upon the *Regulating* and *Cloſetting* Projects, and upon obliging the *Clergy* to read his Proclamation for *Liberty of Conſcience* from their Pulpits. This did alarm the *Biſhops*, as was deſigned, and obliged them to think upon *Petitioning* againſt it; upon which, thoſe *Beautefeux*, being afraid leſt the KING ſhould call in his Proclamation, having always found it hard enough to bring him to ſuch Methods; they ordered the buſineſs ſo, that the *Biſhops* were ſo long in preſenting their *Petition* to the K. that though their Reaſons had convinced and ſatisfied him, there was not time enough to countermand his former Orders, though never ſo willing. Upon which, they took occaſion to incenſe the King againſt them, as if they had delay'd their *Petition* ſo long, with deſign to *embroyl him with his people*; and ſo they run the *Biſhops* into the *Tower*, and from thence to the *Barr*.

This is the true Hiſtory of the *Diſpenſing Power*, and of the Biſhops *Perſecution*, which was ſo warmly

warmly and bitterly urged againſt the King, as undeniable Proofs that his Inclination to Catholicks was too ſtrong for the Laws. But to ſpeak plain Engliſh, I hope thoſe Stretches, in favour of Catholicks, which were Criminal in King *James*, are not become more Legal and Meritorious in King *William*; the exerciſe of the Diſpenſing Power in their Favours, I hope, is as much a fault *now* as *ever*. The Charge will be denied; but I ſhall fully make it good, when I come to diſcourſe upon the Third Motive to the King's Reſtauration. Are not Catholicks employed now in the Army, tho' not qualified by Law? It will be alleg'd they are Foreigners; ſo much the worſe; for an Engliſh Catholick will ſtill have ſome regard for the Laws and Liberties of his Countrymen; whereas a mercenary Foreigner is abſolutely at the Diſpoſal of his Maſter. Are not the Catholicks as much Countenanced, and in the exerciſe of as much Liberty for their Religion as ever? The Neceſſity of humouring a Confederacy, which muſt ſupport us, the great Strength of which are Catholicks, may be urged as a very good Reaſon for this; but if we examine it to the bottom, this threatens our *Religion* more than any Indulgence was granted them by King *James*. When the Catholicks of *England* hold their Liberty merely from the favour of the Proteſtants of *England*, they muſt be thankful for it, and humble under it; but when they come to derive their Favours, Immunities, and Liberty, from the *Neceſſity* of our *Circumſtances*, and humble *Regard* and *Deference* we muſt pay to Catholick Princes, without whoſe *Aſſiſtance* and *Friendſhip* we cannot *Subſiſt*; their Spirits, Hopes and Haughtineſs, will be enlarged by it: They muſt make grateful acknowlegements to thoſe Catholick Princes, by whoſe kind Influences they enjoy their Liberty. This begets a *Correſpondence* with, and *Dependence* upon *Foreign Princes*; and we do not know how far, by the Intrigues of Catholicks here, thoſe Princes may be prevailed upon to improve the *Neceſſity* we have of their *Allyance*, to the Advantage of thoſe of their *own Religion* amongſt us. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, within our Remembrance, were the moſt zealous *Champions* for the Roman Religion; and the Dependence of the Catholicks of *England* upon that Houſe, hath been always terrible and troubleſom to this State: And though their Loſſes, and the growth of *France*, hath humbled and levelled all the *towring* Thoughts and *Ambition* of that Family, which did ſo much exerciſe both the Councils and Forces of their Neighbours; yet ſince by our Aſſiſtance that Houſe is to recover its Loſſes, and *France* to be reduced within its ancient bounds; with their loſt Provinces, the Houſe of *Auſtria* may reſume their old *Deſigns*: They were but covered up, not extinguiſhed; concealed through Weakneſs, to be diſcovered upon a greater Encreaſe of Strength and Vigour; in which Caſe we may come to be *whipt* for our *preſent Politicks*.

May the *great God* avert those *Dangers* and *Difficulties* which inviron us, and visibly *threaten* the *Religious* and *Civil Concerns* of these *Kingdoms*. We have, with both our hands, been pulling Destruction upon our selves, and desperately risking our *Religion* and *Civil Rights*, without any Necessity; and unless we repent, and repair these Errors, the Punishments we deserve will certainly overtake us. We have turned away our King, whose Right and Title was certain and unquestioned, nay, we have chased him from us with unspeakable Indignities, upon the Pretence of Errors in Government, which he was put upon by the Artifice of his Enemies, and which he was willing to have repaired. He courted us, by *repeated Applications*, to carve out our own *Securities* for our *Religion* and *Civil Rights*; but we have obstinately refused any Treaty with him. We have set our selves up for a Mark of Reproach to future Ages, by our foolish and invincible Malice, and matchless Impudence, in *vacating a Throne* by a pretended *Abdication*, which imports a Voluntary Resignation; and yet the *Abdicated Monarch* never made any, but asserts his Title to this day. We have grounded this *Abdication* upon a wilful *Desertion* in our Prince, when we forced him away for the Preservation of his Life; and upon Mistakes in Government, which he was trepan'd into, and which he was willing to have repaired; but we would not; as if every Error in Government had been a Sin against the *Holy Ghost*, which neither can be *atoned* for, nor *forgotten*. The Injury done to our *Sovereign* is very visible from what I have written; and so *Reparation* ought to be speedily made, notwithstanding all the Reasons given by these two Pamphleteers against it. But before I enter upon answering their Objections, I shall discourse upon the other three Motives assigned for the King's Restauration, and make them equally plain with the first I have already handled; which will in a great measure prevent or take off all Objections can be made.

The second Motive was *the Setling the Government upon its old* Basis; which is visibly interrupted and quite unhinged by this *Abdication*. We have turned our Hereditary Monarchy into an Elective. We have cut the Royal Line, interrupted the Succession, and destroyed the just Rights of innocent Persons, upon a pretended *Abdication*; which tho well founded, is but *personal*, and cannot be extended any farther. To this it is answered by the Author of *The Pretences of the French Invasion examined*, p. 10. l. 1. and downwards, *That the Breach, as to the Person of the Reigning King, was made by himself, having deserted; That the Convention did not make, but found the Throne vacant; That in Regard there were so many clear Indications of the Imposture of the Prince of* Wales, *the Convention applied to the present Queen, who was the next and undoubted Heir; and at her Request, a Title was given to her Husband, and that only for Life, though he was much*

nearer

nearer in Blood than Henry *IV. and* Henry *VII. ſucceſſively made Kings of* England; *That much greater Breaches have been made ſince the Conqueſt, in the Lineal Succeſſion, by depoſing the Reigning King, and ſetting up his Son, or a remoter Perſon, which he acknowlegeth an Injury to the King ſo depoſed; and that the ſaving the Succeſſion to the Princeſs of* Denmark *and her Heirs, ſhews how far the Convention was from any ſuch thing as is alledged.*

By ſuch Reaſonings the Author of this Phmphlet diſcovers but ſmall Knowlege in Hiſtory, and the Affairs of his own Countrey; little *Judgment* and *Veracity*, joyned with a great deal of *Diſingenuity* and *Impudence*. How truly the Breach made in our Monarchy, by the *Abdicating* Vote, is to be laid at King *James*'s door, upon the Account of his *Deſertion*, may appear from what I have already ſaid: And though this Author doth very confidently aſſert, That the Throne was void by *Deſertion*, it ſeems the Convention was not of that Opinion, but found it neceſſary to declare it ſo by a Vote, before there was Acceſs to fill it again; and the Earl of *Nottingham* was then quite another Man, and of other Principles, than we find him now, either as an Author, or Licenſer. A Regency was not in the leaſt akin to a Vacancy. But to humour the Author, ſuppoſe there was a Vacancy, either before or after the Vote, which he pleaſeth; a Vancy in a Monarchy is a certain infallible Mark of its being Elective: For in a Hereditary Monarchy, ſuch as this of *England*, upon the Natural, or Civil Death too (if the Author pleaſeth) of the Regnant Monarch, the Right of the next Succeſſour doth immediately take place; and the People, whether by their Repreſentatives in Parliament, or otherwiſe, do humbly ſubmit to and acknowlege, not declare and authorize, his Natural Title. Our Law Books teach us, *That the Kings of* England *can never dye:* The meaning is, That in an Hereditary Monarchy the Throne cannot be without a Poſſeſſour, even for a Moment; ſo that where either there is the leaſt *Vacancy*, or where the next Poſſeſſour wants a *Sentence* of the People to give him a Title; that very *Sentence*, however diſguiſed, is an *Election*; and together with the preceeding *Vacancy*, doth certainly and indiſpenſably ſtamp the Monarchy *Elective*.

Is it not highly impudent in this Author to tell us, that there are many clear Indications of the Prince of *Wales*'s being an Impoſture; and, at the ſame time, not to let us know what they are, and upon what Grounds they are ſo clear and evident? Can this Author be ſo vain as to think we muſt take his Word for a Thing upon which ſo much depends; no leſs than the juſtice, or injuſtice of a *Sentence*, which muſt ſtand the Nation in ſo much Blood and Treaſure, ſo many Perjuries and repeated Acts of Violence and Oppreſſion, to ſupport and maintain? Or doth he therein follow the Example of the Prince of *Orange* in his *Declaration*? Which tells us of many juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion, that

that the Prince of *Wales* was not Born of the Queen, and *refers* the Inquiry of that Truth to a *free Parliament*. King *James* alſo hath made the ſame *reference*, in a Letter from St. *Germains*, nay deſired the *laſt Parliament* to look narrowly into that Affair; and yet the Prince hath never to this day deſired the Parliament to fall about this important Search, nor acquainted us with any of thoſe juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion. Is it not very ſtrange, That the only *plauſible Pretence*, in all the *Declaration* for his undertaking, ſhould be ſo much over-looked; when a clear and plain Diſcovery of ſuch an infamous Cheat and Impoſture, would have fully juſtified the Proceedings of the Convention of Eſtates, the preſent Settlement of the Crown, given us all Peace of Conſcience and Satisfaction under it, and would really and truly have *Abdicated* King *James* for ever in the Hearts and Affections of every honeſt *Engliſh* Man? The Prince in Honor was concerned to have preſſed it; and the ſupream Senate was obliged in Honor and Juſtice to have made a full Diſcovery of the Truth or Falſhood of it, eſpecially when they have been ſo much preſs'd and challeng'd, as it were in the face of the World, to fall about it, by King *James*, and humbly Petitioned ſo to do by ſeveral Perſons of Honor and Quality in *October*, 1690. and which was delivered into many of the Members Hands; beſides the times and circumſtances of Affairs were the moſt ſeaſonable for ſuch an Enquiry. It was not to be ſuppoſed, that the *Witneſſes* could either then be bribed or overawed into a partial Teſtimony; and there was all imaginable incouragement for freedom of Queſtions, for confronting the Deponents, and producing Counter Evidences, *If there were any ſuch*; ſo that the whole Matter might have been laid open and cleared, to the Satisfaction of all Perſons concerned. The vindicating the Honor and Juſtice of the Nation; the quieting of ſo many Peoples Conſciences, who think themſelves bound by their Oaths of Allegiance to the King's next and immediate Heirs; the regard due to an innocent Child, if the Impoſture be not cleared; the Satisfaction of the Chriſtian World, and the ſecuring theſe Kingdoms from thoſe great Dangers and Confuſions, which are certain and infallible upon Competitions, in point of the Royal Succeſſion; were *great* and *unanſwerable Motives* for an Enquiry; nay amounted to the Weight of a *Duty* due from them to their *Conſtituents*, *themſelves*, and *Poſterity*. What can any thinking Man conclude from ſuch a Neglect and Omiſſion, but that the *Evidence*, for the reality of the Prince of *Wales* his Birth, was *clear* and *convincing*; and the *Counter Evidence*, which was *pretended* againſt it, *falſe* and *forged*; that the Prince of *Orange*, in his Declaration, had rather Studied to amuſe the World with *great* and *ſpecious Pretences*, than to ſatisfie them as to the *Reality* and *Truth* of his Grounds; and that the *Convention* and *Parliament*

ment have followed the Dictates of Paſſion and Prejudice, more than the Rules of Prudence and Juſtice. It cannot be ſuppoſed they forbore to trace this Impoſture from any tenderneſs to the King's Reputation, which would have been ſo deeply Wounded by a Diſcovery of the Cheat: So much time and pains ſpent unſucceſsfully, in laying open the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Murther, ſhews evidently how glad they would have been of any occaſion, or probable pretence, whereby to blacken King *James*.

So that the Nation muſt even reſt ſatisfi'd without any further Evidence of this Impoſture, than ſome pretended Suſpicions which were both groundleſs, and raiſed induſtriouſly by thoſe publick *Agitators* for this Revolution: As for Inſtance, The Princeſs of *Denmark*'s being forced out of the way to the *Bath* at the time of the Queen's Delivery; whereas it is very well known, and can be made appear, by Perſons of undoubted Honor and Integrity, that the *King* was againſt it, that her *Phyſitians* in Ordinary were againſt it, and that pains was taken to ſearch about for *Phyſitians* who would adviſe her going, as expedient for her Health; ſo early were they contriving *Pretences* for this Calumny. But the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were all along Suſpicious that the Queen was not with Child; and yet no care was taken to ſatisfie them about it. Did they ever acquaint the King with their Suſpicions, and deſire ſome Method might be taken to remove them? And were they *refuſed it?* This was the proper and uſual way in ſuch Caſes: And ſince it was not taken, there is no ground for Complaint. The King could not dive into Suſpicions; which, in my Conſcience, I am perſuaded they never entertain'd. And laſtly, it is alleged, That no care was taken to ſatisfie the Nation, who were full of doubts about the reality of his Birth. But why did they doubt? Were any Methods *neglected*, which uſed to be *obſerved?* Or any Perſons *ſecluded*, who ought to have been *preſent?* Did they give any intimation of their Suſpicions by humble *Petition* or *Remonſtrance*, and deſire to be ſatisfied about 'em? The Queen had formerly brought forth Children without any pretended Jealouſies. Who could foreſee that ſuch a black and helliſh Calumny would be then invented? Yet the Wiſdom of *God Almighty* knowing how far the *Wickedneſs* of this Age would extend; and as an *earneſt*, I hope, of his good and kind *Intentions* to this Nation, hath Providentially furniſhed us with a *better* and more *numerous Evidence* of the Birth of this *Prince*, than can be brought for the *reality* of the Birth of any *Prince*, or private Perſon in *Europe*; and hath yet fortified and confirmed it by another *Conception*, and *Pregnancy* of the Queen's, to the Birth of which Child many Perſons of all Qualities have been called, and invited in an *extraordinary manner*; ſo willing is the King to ſatisfie even our malitious groundleſs

leſs Complaints. But it ſeems our Rulers have no Doubts upon that Head, in which they deſire to be ſatisfied, or find it not for their intereſt to have them cleared.

From what hath been ſaid, it is evident that there is a real Prince of *Wales*, who muſt be conſidered as ſuch ſo long as the pretended Impoſture is not cleared to us, and who hath Injuſtice done him by the *Convention of Eſtates*; for though the *Abdicating Vote* were well founded againſt the Father, it was only *perſonal* to Him, and cannot reach the Son: In which Caſe, the Princeſs of *Orange*'s Right being only from the Gift and by the Election of the People, is a manifeſt Breach of the Royal Line, and hath quite altered the *Nature* and *Frame* of our Hereditary Monarchy. As to the Title given to the Prince during Life, at her Requeſt, the Princeſs of *Denmark*, by the Rules of Succeſſion in an Hereditary Monarchy, is unqueſtionably next Heir to her Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, if ſhe dye without Children: By the Survivancy of Royalty lodged in the Prince, after the Princeſs's Death, there is manifeſt Injury done to the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her Children; there is another *unqueſtionable Breach* made upon the Royal Line, and the antient Conſtitution of our Monarchy; and there is a ſecond *Election* of a Monarch by the Convention, to the Prejudice of their next undoubted Heir, leſt the firſt Inſtance had not made a ſtrong enough *Preſident* for an *Elective* Monarchy for the future. And whereas it is pretended, That the Prince had his Title at the requeſt of the Princeſs, who was the next Heir, and willing to give him Place, Where is this Requeſt and Conceſſion of the Princeſs to be ſeen? When was it preſented to the Convention; or where is it recorded? But thô it were real, what is that to the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her Heirs? Can a Compliment, intended by the Princeſs of *Orange*, from her Self to her Husband, *cut off their Rights*? Again, Is it not evident, that by ſuch a requeſt it's *confeſſed* that the preſent Settlement of the Crown is by the *Election* and from the *Gift* of the People; and plainly acknowleged that there is a *Right* in them to *alter* the Succeſſion, and make a *Breach* of the Royal Line at their *Pleaſure*?

But it is alleged, That we have the practiſe of our Predeceſſors to juſtifie our preſent Meaſures, who have made much greater *Breaches* in the Lineal Succeſſion, depoſed Kings, and given the Crown to Perſons remoter from the Royal Blood than the Prince of *Orange*; and that in the Caſes of *Hen.* IV. and *Hen.* VII. In this the Author diſcovers himſelf to be ignorant of the Hiſtory and Affairs of his own Countrey, in miſtaking the Caſe of *Hen.* IV. in giving us an Inſtance in *Hen.* VII. of a *Breach* in the Lineal Succeſſion, to the Prejudice of the ſurviving King and next Heir, ſince it is very well known that *Richard* the Uſurper was killed in Battel, and left no Heir behind him; and King *Henry* being undoubted Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, by his

his Marriage with the Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*, united the two Roſes, and had an unqueſtionable Title to the Crown, without any *Breach* in the Lineal Succeſſion: And alſo in omitting to give us the Inſtance of *Edw.* III. which are all the Examples our Hiſtory affordeth, and are very far from making a Precedent in our Caſe. *Edw.* III. was the eldeſt Son, and undoubted and neareſt Heir of the Crown; and tho he mounted the Throne during his Father's Life, yet it was upon his Father's *Reſignation*: And though he had all the Heat and Ambition of a young Man, and diſcovered during his Reign a largeneſs and greatneſs of Soul more than ordinary, yet he conſtantly refuſed the Crown, until his Father's *Reſignation* was obtained. This can be none of thoſe greater *Breaches* of the Succeſſion, hinted at by our Author; and doth not at all ſute the *Caſe* of King *William*: And *Hen.* IV. makes as bad a Precedent for our Practiſe. King *Ri.* II. *Reſigned* in the favour of *Hen.* had no *Children* to be prejudiced by his *Reſignation*: King *Henry* was the next Heir, the Pretences of the Houſe of *York* being not then ſet on foot; but that Family acquieſced in his Right as well as the reſt of the Kingdom: So that our own Hiſtories can as little furniſh us with Examples, to juſtifie our preſent Practiſe, as thoſe of other Nations. If in the Inſtances aſſigned, the horrid Violences of *Richard* the Third, the Male Adminiſtrations of *Richard* the Second and *Edward* the Second, could not in the Opinion of this Author warrant their *Dethroning*, from the Character of *Injuries* done them, he muſt certainly be jeſting all along with us in his Pamphlet, in juſtifying an *Abdication* for *leſs* and *ſhorter* Errors; and the Tory *Nottingham* is forced at laſt to peep out from under his *Republican* Diſguiſe.

As to the Pretence, That *by ſaving the Succeſſion to the* Princeſs *of* Denmark *and her Heirs, the Convention hath ſufficiently Shewn how far they were from* deſigning *any Alteration in the Succeſſion, or the antient Conſtitution of our Monarchy*, it is equally weak and frivolous with any of the reſt; and lays a Foundation for another Election, as it is expreſſed in the Vote. For the Proviſion is not to the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s Heirs ſimply, as the Author falſly and diſingenuouſly repreſents, but runs thus, *To the Princeſs* Ann *of* Denmark *and the Heirs of her Body; which failing, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid King* William; which excludes all *collateral Pretenders* of the *Orleans* and *Palatine* Families, who would have been comprehended under the general Notion of *Heirs*. It was not poſſible for the Wit of Man to contrive a Vote, which in ſo few Words could more viſibly *alter* the *Nature* of our *Hereditary Monarchy*, make *more* and *ſtronger Precedents* for an *Elective*, occaſion more *Interruptions* in the Succeſſion, and lay a better *Foundation* for the like for the time to come. For in this *Sentence* we have a *Breach* in the Perſon of the *reigning* King, by the *Abdication*; we have another *Breach* in the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales*; we

have the People *conferring* the Crown by *Election* upon the Princeſs of *Orange*, to the Prejudice of that *Prince* his *Title*; we have a Survivancy of the Government ſettled in the Prince of *Orange*, by a *ſecond* Act of this *Elective* Power of the People, to the Prejudice of the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her *Heirs*, which makes a third *Breach* in the Succeſſion; and laſtly, we have all the *Collateral Heirs* of this Crown quite cut off by the *Entail*, by which the Monarchy is to be *extinguiſhed*, or a *Series* of *Elective* Monarchs buckled upon this Nation, as ſtrongly as thoſe *good Patriots* could do it by their *Sentence*. Let any wiſe and thinking Man judge, if this be not ſuch a palpable and viſible *unhinging* of all the antient *Frame* and *Conſtitution* of our glorious Monarchy, as deſerves the warmeſt *Endeavours* and moſt diligent *Application* of every honeſt Man, *for the ſetling of this our antient* Engliſh *Government upon its old* Baſis, *by the Reſtauration of King* James.

The Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invaſion*, did certainly foreſee theſe Difficulties the former Author had run himſelf into; and being unwilling to ſhipwrack his Reaſon upon ſuch groſs Abſurdities, he broadly hints at *Conqueſt*: And in this he but ſeconds the Author of the *Anſwer to the Paper delivered by Mr.* Aſhton *at his Execution*, Licenſed by a Secretary of State; who boldly, and without Diſguiſe, pleadeth upon that Title. This *Plea*, though it be not liable to the ſame Abſurdities with the other, yet labours under greater; ſince by one blow, and with one daſh of his Pen, he levels at the *Birthrights* of the *Subjects*, as well as of the *Monarch*; and endeavours to extinguiſh the *Freedoms* of *Engliſh-Men*, as well as the antient *Government*; and certainly to entail upon and place us actually under that *Slavery*, the *Fear* of which is the beſt Reaſon they aſſign for reſtraining us from aſſiſting our King in his *Return*: As if ſuch remote Fears of *Slavery* were more dreadful than preſent *Servitude*, which is the neceſſary conſequence of *Conqueſt*. Theſe Champions make very bold with their Prince, and wound his Honour and Intereſt deeper than the keeneſt Enemies could do: Such Blunders muſt fall in, when Men reaſon rather from Paſſion than from ſteady and generally received Maxims, and labour to defend a deeply tinctured *Republican* Revolution by Tantivy *Monarchical* Principles.

It is ſtrange to ſee a Man who is indued with a rational Soul, whoſe greateſt Prerogative and Excellency conſiſts in a clear unbyaſſed and diſtinct Exerciſe of Reaſon, ſo blinded with fooliſh Prejudice, as rather than ſubmit to plain and convincing Truth, chuſe to betake himſelf to this unaccountable notion of *Conqueſt*; which is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Prince's Declaration, deſtroys the Maxims and Grounds, upon which the Convention of Eſtates (from whom the Prince derives his Title) did proceed; overturns the Subjects Claim to Rights and Privileges, the pretended

pretended Care of which is the beſt Support of this Government; brings home to our Fancies and Imaginations the moſt frightful *Ideas* which a free-born People can form to themſelves of *Tyranny* and *Slavery*, with all the terrible and deſolating Conſequences which attend them; and conſequently lays us under Obligations, from a due regard to our ſelves and Poſterity, and Duty to our Country, to ſhake off the Yoak with all ſpeed, though with never ſo much Hazard and Difficulty.

The Prince, in his Declaration, after an Enumeration of Grievances, aſſures us, *That he came for no other Deſign, than to have a free and full Parliament aſſembled, and the Elections made and returned according to the antient forms; and that the Members of this Parliament ſhould meet and ſit in full Freedom, until ſuch Laws be prepared, as the two Houſes ſhould concur in, and find neceſſary for Maintenance of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and ſecuring the* Peace, Honour, *and* Safety *of this Nation; that there may be no more Danger of falling at any time under* Arbitrary Government; *and that he had nothing before his Eyes in this undertaking, but the preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion, *the covering of all Men from* Perſecutions for their Conſciences, *and the ſecuring to the whole Nation the free Enjoyment of all their* Laws, Rights, *and* Liberties, *under a* juſt *and* legal Government. *For the accompliſhing of which, ſince he had only brought a Force with him for defending his* Perſon againſt the Violence of Evil Counſellors, *all the Peers of this Realm, Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and others of all Ranks and Degrees, are invited to aſſiſt him againſt all who ſhall endeavour to oppoſe the redreſſing of Violences done to the Conſtitution of the* Engliſh *Government.* Theſe Pretences can never be adjuſted to the Notion and Title of *Conqueſt*. The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of this Realm, acting in a free and legal Parliament, for the ſecuring of their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government, neither can nor will ever deſign it.

I will charitably ſuppoſe, That the Convention of Eſtates, and their Conſtituents, did believe they had valuable Rights and Privileges, their Religion, Liberties and Properties, which were derived and ſecured unto them from the poſitive Statutes and Laws of the Land, as well as from the Dictates of Nature and *Original Contract*; that thoſe Rights and Privileges were invaded, and in danger to be loſt; which made them run into that general Defection, and make a Preſent of the Crown to the P. of *Orange*, as the only Expedient they could then think of. So long as the Prince's Title runs in this Channel, they are at Liberty, when they pleaſe, to review thoſe Meaſures, examine the Grounds, and upon a Rectification of their Judgments, and Conviction that their beloved Rights and Privileges may be better ſecured under their antient Monarch, to betake themſelves again unto him. *Sublata cauſa, tollitur effectus.* Or they may enquire into the Conduct and Government of the Prince; whether it Quadrate

drate with the *Original Contract* they made with him; whether their *Rights* and *Privileges* have been entirely preſerved; and if they can diſcover any bad Influences or Aſpect towards *Liberty* and *Property*, then to make a Sacrifice of the Workmanſhip of their own Hands to a *freſh Eſtabliſhment* of thoſe Sacred and Venerable Rights: By the Maxims of this laſt Revolution, *The Intereſt of the People is paramount to that of the Prince.*

But if *CONQUEST* take place, then *Adieu* to *Rights* and *Privileges*, *Liberty* and *Property*. The old muſty Statute Books and Records of *Weſtminſter-hall* and the *Tower*, may be committed to the Flames, as ſo much waſte Paper: His Will and Pleaſure muſt be the Law whereby we are governed; our Liberties muſt lie at the Mercy of his Miniſters; and our Properties muſt be committed to the Stewardſhip of his Soldiers. Let us examine the Condition of Conquered People and Provinces, from antient and modern Hiſtory. Their old Government, Laws and Cuſtoms, which they had been inured to from their Infancy, recommended and endeared to them by long Uſe and Acquaintance, muſt be ſwept off the Stage; ſtrange Orders, ſtrange Cuſtoms, ſtrange Miniſters, muſt take their place; Our Perſons, our Liberty, our Eſtates, and all our moſt valuable Earthly Enjoyments, muſt lie at the Mercy, Pleaſure, and Will, of the *Conqueror*: Induſtry and Virtue will vaniſh, there being no Reward for them; for a *Conquered People* muſt aſpire no higher, than to learn to obey ſubmiſſively, and to eat the Bread of Tribulation and Affliction with Patience: The care and deſire of Poſterity will languiſh; being unwilling to beget Children, to become ſuch Slaves, and as miſerable as they are themſelves. The *Indian* Women ſtrangled their own Children, after their Birth, that they might not become Servants to the *Spaniards*; and Dutch Severities will be found nothing ſhort, upon the Record of Hiſtory, of Spaniſh Cruelties. The Annals of all Nations can furniſh us with dreadful Inſtances of the unſpeakable Miſeries of a *Conquered People*: We may find thoſe Examples of the Calamities of that Condition, which would make us embrace Death for a Favour, and be able to ſink us into utter Deſpair; unleſs at the ſame time theſe very Hiſtories had given us a view of the ſtrenuous and ſucceſsful Endeavours of thoſe generous and worthy Spirits, who have deſpiſed Dangers, Difficulties, Torments, and Death it ſelf, for the *Reſcue* and *Deliverance* of their Country and fellow Subjects. The greater and more terrible the Dangers were, the more vigorouſly and undauntedly did they court them, when they were in purſuit of ſo glorious a Quarry. The Efforts of Conquered Nations for the Recovery of their loſt Liberties, ſtand faireſt upon the Records of Fame, and are handed down to us with the greateſt Exactneſs and *Encomiums*; as if our Anceſtors had judged it neceſſary, and all Writers had conſpired together to rouze up, when Occaſion called for it, that Deſire of

Liberty,

Liberty, which was born with us. If Conqueſt muſt be forced upon us as our preſent Lot; I hope all true Engliſh Men will now diſcover as great a Senſe, as any upon Record, of a *vindicative* Duty to their Country, and Love for their Libertics; be as tender and careful to tranſmit them ſafe and ſound to their Poſterity, as their Anceſtors have been vigilant and active in handing them down to them; that they will be no leſs careful of the antient Government and Monarchy of this Nation, than of their own particular Rights, ſince every Blow which reaches the one, muſt certainly wound and endanger the other; and that it ſhall be impoſſible to make the *Engliſh* a *Conquered* People, becauſe they will generally chuſe *not to be*, rather than *to be Slaves.*

It may be alledged, That all that I have ſaid upon *Conqueſt* might have been forborn, ſince the King ſets up for no ſuch *Title.* Perhaps it is not ſeaſonable to do it: But to have Conqueſt ſo publickly pleaded for in Pamphlets, Written or Licenſed by *Secretaries of State*, and that without any Check or Puniſhment from the Prince, *is very Suſpicious*, eſpecially if upon Examination of thoſe Oppreſſions which we ſuffer under the preſent King, we ſhall find his Conduct *ſmell rank* that way. If we be treated as a Conquered People, the Miſery is ſtill the ſame, or rather greater; though the *Prince* who deals ſo by us ſhould be called a *Reformer.*

It being made evident and plain, That King *James* was highly *injured*, and the antient Government quite *unhinged*, by the Sentence of *Abdication*, and our late Meaſures; I come next to examine how exactly the Prince hath fulfilled and made good unto us the pretended Ends and Deſigns of his *Declaration*; how well he hath kept the *Original Contract* we made with him; and what Benefit we may expect to reap for the future by this Revolution. I ſhall take his Conduct in both Kingdoms jointly under Conſideration, ſince he hath not only united them in the ſame *Declaration*, but likewiſe iſſued out a *Declaration* apart for *Scotland*; intimating thereby, *That the Oppreſſions in that Kingdom were more weighty and numerous than here; and that the Arbitrary Deſigns of our Princes did always firſt Commence there, to make a Precedent for this Kingdom; and that the Conduct and Poſture of Affairs there, did always certainly prognoſticate to the Curious Obſerver, what was deſigned to be Copied and Executed here.* I do not pretend to give a particular detail of the preſent Adminiſtration in that Kingdom; but there are ſome conſiderable Errors have been acted there, which have made a Noiſe, and raiſed ſuch publick Complaints, as have conveyed the Knowledge of them here to us.

The Aſſuming a Power of *Diſpenſing* with the due Execution of Laws, enacted by King and Parliament, for Security of Religion, Liberty, and Happineſs of the Subject, is much urged againſt King *James*, as a great

Motive

Motive to the Prince's Undertaking. A *Diſpenſing* Power, aſſumed by any Prince, doth fatally threaten the Liberties of a People where it is practiſed, and makes them *Tenants* at Will for thoſe Privileges which the Laws of the Land hath given them a *Freehold* in. This is really ſuch an important Point, and of ſuch Conſequence for the Subject to have been cleared, that it was indiſpenſably the Duty of a Reforming Prince, Convention of Eſtates, and Parliament, to have decided this Controverſie, and placed ſuch Marks and Boundaries for the future, ſo plain and obvious both to Prince and People, that each might have known their particular Rights, and governed themſelves for the future accordingly. But our Parliaments have thought fit to leave it where they found it, dark and undecided, to this day; and the Prince hath diſcovered he was well enough pleaſed with this Omiſſion, by taking as large and broad Steps that way, as any can be charged upon King *James*.

The Iriſh Treaty furniſheth us with a Convincing Proof of this; where ſuch Indulgencies were granted unto them ſolely and ſingly by his own Authority, with relation to the Exerciſe of their Religion, preſerving of their Arms, Diſpenſation from Oaths, and Security againſt Purſuits for their Plunderings; as were directly contrary to the Laws of the Land, the Safety, Rights, and Privileges of the Proteſtant Subjects of that Kingdom. This Treaty, I do acknowlege, was afterwards ratified by Parliament; but though in ſome Caſes the Authority of Parliament may give a legal Being for the future, yet that new Life commenceth only from the Date of their Sanction, and doth not juſtifie *preceeding Errors*: And the many Difficulties which aroſe in both Houſes, about the Ratification, was a clear *Inuendo* how dangerous and illegal they judged the Treaty to be. How ſtrangely are we altered? King *James*'s Exerciſe of this Diſpenſing Power, could neither be forgotten nor attoned for; but King *William*'s ſtretch that way, ſhall obtain a Parliamentary Approbation; *Such is the Juſtice and unbyaſſed Integrity of theſe Times.*

But we need not look ſo far as *Ireland* for Inſtances: We have our *perſonal* Liberties ſecured to us by poſitive and expreſs Statutes, and Methods appointed by our Law, whereby to recover our Liberties when loſt, with ſuch ſevere Animadverſions againſt thoſe who obſtruct the due courſe of Law in obtaining of our Freedom, with ſuch great and conſiderable Damages appointed in that Caſe, as plainly enough points out unto us the Value and Worth of this true *Engliſh* Privilege. It is the choiceſt piece of our *Magna Charta*, and *Original Contract*; and, for my part, I ſhould much rather allow a Prince to *diſpence* with Penal Statutes, and iſſue out a Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience, than to ſport himſelf at pleaſure with my *perſonal Freedom*; without which

which there can be no reliſh in any other Enjoyment; and yet there never was a *Reign* wherein our Birth-right in this hath been more abuſed, ſpoiled, and broken in upon. The Engliſh Subjects have been put into *Proclamations*, and clapt into Priſons for *High Treaſon*, and refuſed the benefit of their *Habeas Corpus*, though there was no Information upon *Oath* againſt them, according as the Law appoints to juſtifie ſuch a *Procedure*: Nay, ſo groſly, frequently, and impudently, have our publick Miniſters *affronted* the Laws upon this Head, that they have found themſelves obliged to apply to Parliament for *Pardon*: For we have found out a new Trick in this Government, and *reforming* Age, firſt to act all imaginable *Violences* againſt the beſt and choiſeſt of our Laws, and then to obtain either a *Ratification* or *Pardon* in Parliament; whereby they have ſtruck our *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and the *Liberty* of the Subject, *Dead* at one Blow, by *Debauching* our Parliaments into a *Confederacy* againſt (in place of *protecting*) the Liberties of the People, and ſo making the *Nation* as it were *Felo de ſe*. No period of Hiſtory doth furniſh us with ſuch *wholeſale Merchants* for our beſt and moſt valuable Rights; neither do we know when this Trade ſhall be at an end, or when our *Rulers* will be weary of *Tricking* us out of our Liberties. We have a freſh Inſtance of late of the Knowlege and Learning of our *Judges*: When the Earls of *Huntington*, *Middleton*, and others moved at the *Barr* for their *Habeas Corpus*, there was no Information upon *Oath* againſt them to countenance a refuſal; otherways to be ſure we ſhould have heard of it: But *Aaron Smith* muſt make Affidavit that they had Evidence for the *High Treaſon* charged againſt them, which could not be got ready; and ſo by his Liberty and Freedom of Conſcience, ſave in ſome meaſure the Credit of the Court: By this fine new Knack, they were all remitted back to Priſon. Such *Judges* may at laſt come to be fit enough for the *Bench* even under a *Conqueſt*; but in the mean time all ſuch Expedients, which are not authoriſed from the Statutes, do rather prove the *Injuſtice* of the Court, than *fulfil* the Law; and however it may be Gilded, we cannot but ſee and feel the bitter *Pill* we muſt ſwallow.

Was not the *Habeas Corpus Act* ſuſpended for many Months? It's true this was done by Parliament; but ſo much the worſe, if our own *Delegates*, in whoſe Hands we truſt the *care*, but not the entire *ſurrender* of our Liberties, make a *Compliment* of that which is not in their *Power*, to the *Ambition* or *Neceſſities* of any *Prince*. Parliaments can no more juſtly over-turn *Foundations*, than the Prince. Such Privileges as are derived from King and Parliament, upon the account of the Subjects *Temporary* Conveniences, are truſted to the *review* of the ſame Court; but thoſe *Fundamental* Privileges, which are the *Birth right* of Nations, and derived

Originally

Originally from the Laws of *Nature* it self; such as the Freedom of our Persons, and Dominion over our Properties, fall only under the Cognizance of Parliaments, for their better *Establishment* against such *Breaches* as the depraved Nature of Princes and their Ministers will be making upon them.

The Nature and Design of Societies hath occasioned a partial Submission of these two great native Privileges to the Safety of the Body Politick, by punishing of Crimes; and to the Support of it, by Taxes, which we grant our selves: But in no Construction of Reason, Sense, or Justice, can *Delegates* be understood to be impowered to make an entire *Surrender* of those Rights into the Hands of any Prince, were it but for a *Moment*. It may be alledged, That the Safety and necessity of the Government put our *Rulers* upon such extraordinary Measures. If Reasons and Pretences of State (the Secrets of which are always locked up in the Prince his Breast) can apologize for such bold Strokes against our most *Fundamental* Privileges and Laws; Where is there any Right or Immunity, which we can call our own, or be assured of? Since such Pretences shall never be wanting to Entitle the Prince to an absolute Dominion over our Property, as well as over our Liberty; since the last is more valuable than the first; Why may not Reasons of State, as justly render him Master of the one as of the other?

If it was to preserve our Liberties from the Insults of King *James*, we placed the Prince upon the Throne, we have certainly either mistaken the *Disease* or the *Cure*; since he cannot be preserved upon it at a cheaper Rate, than a *Sacrifice* of what we intended to preserve; we are to learn nothing from this Revolution, but a surer and more infallible way of enslaving the Subject. K. *James* never dreamt of such a Method. An English Parliament was hitherto esteemed a Court inseparable from the true Interest of English Men; but a little more Training under so good a Master may make them change Principles, and become in time as complacent and good natur'd as ever the *French* and *Swedish* States were. Nothing it seems, in gratitude, can be refused to our *Deliverer*. But thô Gratitude be a Virtue, it ought to have its Bounds, lest it run us farther than we designed or intended at first, even to the *Destruction* of those Rights, for the Preservation of which we desire to appear so grateful. The King of *Denmark*, in our time, by the Merit of some Actions performed for his People, and during their first *Raptures* of Gratitude for it, found the way to *Enslave* them; by changing an Elective and Limited, into an Hereditary and Despotick Monarchy.

The admitting of *unqualified* Persons into Places of Employment, and the Erecting the *High-Commission-Court*, were thought great Crimes in King *James*, and mighty Errors in Government; and yet the first is as

as frequently practiſed in the Army as ever; and how much further the Prince's *Dependance* upon Popiſh Confederates may lead him in favour of Catholicks, muſt be owing to their *Moderation*; for we lie at their *Mercy* upon that head, and may come to be made ſenſible, that our *Foreign Allyances* may prove as troubleſome and uncaſie to us, in favour of Papiſts, as King *James*'s *Religion* was. And as to the laſt, the Prince muſt either look upon that Court to be no Crime, or by favouring the moſt active Members in it, he muſt deſtroy and invert that old Engliſh Maxim, *That our Kings can neither Err, nor be puniſhed; but that Evil Counſellors are liable to both.*

The turning out the Fellows of *Magdalen College* from their Freeholds, contrary to that Proviſion in *Magna Charta, That no Man ſhould loſe his Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land*, is not to be juſtified; and yet falls much ſhort of the putting People to death, under this Government, by *Martial Law*, before it was Enacted. Few Men will ever ſcruple to ſecure their Lives, with the loſs of their Places. The *Quo Warranto* and *Regulation Projects*, were much to be complained of; but we may very eaſilie imagine to whoſe Practiſes they were owing, by the Countenance and Preferments the Authors and Promoters of thoſe Councils received from this Government; neither can the *Quo Warranting* of *Charters* be ſo illegal, as the Declaration would make us believe; ſince King *William* himſelf treads in the ſame Path, by impoſing a Governor upon *New England*, upon the *Quo Warranto* Foot, contrary to the Opinion of his Privy-Council.

Whereas by the Declaration, *The ſlighting and rejecting of Petitions, delivered by Subjects with Submiſſion and Reſpect*, is conſidered as a high Strain of Abſolute Power; yet when the People of *SCOTLAND* had ſecured to themſelves the Privilege of *Petitioning*, by their Claim of Rights; and in purſuance, and by vertue of that Privilege, the greateſt part of that Parliament, which placed the *Crown* upon his Head, had humbly addreſſed unto the preſent King for his Aſſent to ſome *Votes* which they had paſſed for Eſtabliſhing of *Religion* and *Liberty*, and which were agreeable to their ancient Laws and Privileges, they were *ſcornfully* and *diſdainfully* refuſed and rejected. If by the Declaration it was a Fault to treat a Peer of *England* as a *Criminal*, for aſſerting that the Subjects were not bound to obey a Popiſh Juſtice of Peace; it cannot be a piece of Juſtice in King *William* to paſs a Sentence of Baniſhment upon the Earl of *Feverſham*, who is a Peer of *England*, within theſe few Weeks, without ſo much as alleging a Crime againſt him.

Since by the Declaration the obliging People to deliver their Opinion before hand, as to the repealing the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*, and the turning out of Employments ſuch as could not promiſe luſtily, is repreſented as ſo foul a piece of Collu-

ſion. The *Cloſetting* of Members of Parliament now, to pre-engage their Votes in Affairs depending before them, and the *Diſgraces* which ſome obſtinate Perſons fell under upon it, ſhould have been forborn, unleſs K. *William* be diſſatisfied with the Prince of *Orange* his Declaration, and the Rules and Maxims therein Eſtabliſhed.

According to the Scottiſh Declaration, *The appointing of Judges in an unuſual manner, and giving them Commiſſions which were not to continue during Life, or Good Behaviour*, was highly illegal; yet King *William*, after he got the Crown, found he was miſtaken in that Paragraph, and *Nominated* the whole Bench, without ſubjecting them to a *Tryal*, and the *Approbation* of Parliament, according as *Law* and *Cuſtom* required; did not think fit to continue their *Commiſſions* during Life or Good Behaviour; and appointed them a *Lord Preſident*, thô by expreſs Statute he was to be *elected* by the Bench.

By the Declaration, *The Impoſing of Bonds without Act of Parliament, and the Permitting of free Quarters to the Soldiers*, are declared to be high and intollerable Stretches of Government: The ſame hath been practiſed in this Government, with greater Confidence, leſs Compaſſion, and other *aggravating* Circumſtances. Bonds have been impoſed by Authority of Council, without Authority of Parliament, as may appear from their publick Proclamations; and many Thouſands of Soldiers have been maintained upon free Quarter for many Months together, countenanced and abetted in it by the Government; and the Funds for reimburſing the Country, which were appointed by *Parliament*, have been otherways diverted.

The Commiſſionating the Officers of the Army to ſit as Judges upon the Lives and Eſtates of the Subjects; and the putting People to Death without a legal Tryal, Jury, and Record, were complained of in the Declaration; were thought good Reaſons for Forefaulting of K. *James*, and were provided againſt upon this laſt Settlement of the Crown: And yet both the Caution given by the Sentence againſt King *James*, and the future Proviſion made by the *Eſtates*, prove too weak to reſtrain this Government from practiſing the ſame things, by ordering and impowering Colonel *Hill*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, to put *Glencoe* and all the Males of his *Clan*, under Seventy, to death; which was partly executed upon them, without any *Legal Tryal*, *Jury*, or *Record*. Neither can their former Enmity and Oppoſition to the Government furniſh any Apology for ſo barbarous a Murther, ſince they had all either actually taken the Benefit of the Indemnity then granted, and ſo were *Pardoned*, or had Protections in their *Pockets*, which put them under the immediate *Care* and *Safeguard* of the Government. It may puſle the beſt Heads to find out the Reaſon why *Iriſh Papiſts*, though ſtated Enemies,

mies, ſhould be indulged to the prejudice of our Laws and Rights; and yet *Proteſtants*, though formerly Enemies, barbarouſly Maſſacred, when *Indemnified* and under *Protection*; unleſs K. *W* be reſolved, from the *Obligations* he is under, and the *Deference* he muſt pay to the *Pope* and *popiſh Princes*, to embrace every Occaſion of *deſtroying* the one, and *cheriſhing* the other.

By the Declaration we are aſſured, *That the* Prince *will concur in every thing that may procure the* Peace *and* Happineſs *of theſe Nations, and which a free and lawful* Parliament *ſhall determine:* And yet how many neceſſary and uſeful Bills, for the Happineſs of the Nation, have been ſtifled by the Intereſt, Intrigues, and Sollicitations of the King himſelf, his Miniſters and Courtiers; and the Royal Aſſent refuſed to many Bills in our Neighbouring Kingdom; and in this to the Bill about *Judges*, which was thought ſo neceſſary an Expedient for the Eſtabliſhing of *Juſtice*, and to cut off their ſervile Dependance upon the Court, which was charged as ſuch a Blemiſh upon the *Judges* in King *James*'s Reign, and was always look'd upon as dangerous to the *Lives* and *Liberties* of the Engliſh Subjects.

We were aſſured, That the only Deſign of the Prince's Undertaking, was, *The preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion, *the covering all Men from* Perſecution *for their* Conſciences, *and the ſecuring to the whole Nation the free enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government.* How well and truly he hath confined himſelf within theſe Limits, and other Bounds he preſcribed to himſelf in his Declaration, may partly appear from what hath been ſaid; and ſhall yet be made more clear and evident by a true and impartial Enquiry into his Conduct, and ſome conſiderable Stretches which have been made in Points not glanced at by the Declaration, becauſe they were Strains of Abſolute and Deſpotick Power, which King *James*'s Reign did not furniſh us with any Inſtances of the like.

The Power of impoſing Taxes is *unqueſtionably* lodg'd in Parliament; and the People of this Iſland have a natural *Right* unto, and *Dominion* over their Properties; and the Prince cannot ſhare with them in it, in whole, or in part; except in ſo far as they conſent to it themſelves, by their Repreſentatives in Parliament: And our Parliaments, though abundantly liberal in other reſpects, have never indulged the leaſt Liberty to our Monarchs on that head; being ſo far tight to their Truſt, and their Conſtituents Intereſt. And the *Eſtates of both Kingdoms* judged it neceſſary, upon the preſent Settlement of the Crown, to aſſert the Peoples *Right* in it; and plainly to expreſs it as one of the *Conditions* of that Settlement. And yet the Privy Council of the Kingdom of *Scotland* have openly and avowedly, in Contempt of the antient Laws and *late Original Contract*, by their publick Proclamations, commanded and

appointed under the ſevereſt Penalties, the Subjects of that Kingdom, at their *own Charge and Expence*, to furniſh a great number of Horſes for the Uſe and Service of the Army; and for carrying Ammunition and Proviſion of Victuals, with Men to attend the ſaid Horſes: And I am informed, That when upon cool and ſecond Thoughts the Council, conſidering what they had done, how illegal it was, and the Danger they had run themſelves into by it, thought fit to *apply* unto the Parliament for an *Approbation*, it was *refuſed* them.

Extravagant Bail was complained of, and provided againſt by the *States of both Kingdoms*; and yet it is daily and frequently impoſed, and exacted many times far above the Value of their Eſtates.

The *Freedom* of Elections to Parliament, from the *Bribes* and *Directions* of Court and Courtiers, was expreſly conditioned by the *States of both Kingdoms*, upon their Tender of the Crown. How well that is kept and obſerved, may appear from the bare faced and open *Applications* made to Counties, Corporations, and particular Electors, for the Choice of ſuch and ſuch Perſons, with *Threats* and *Promiſes* of Reward. Nay, I have known *Three thouſand Pounds* expended for ſecret Service, to prevent the Election of a Perſon who had been eminently Serviceable to this Government, becauſe he was found tighter to the *Intereſt* of his Country, than to the Court; for there never was a Reign wherein the *Intereſt* of King and People were more confidently ſtated as *contradiſtinct*, than in this, though it be only the Conſent and pretended Intereſt of the People, gives Birth, Riſe, and Title to it.

The Frequency of Parliaments, *for Redreſſing of Grievances*; *the amending ſtrengthning, and preſerving of the Laws*, *with all Freedom of Speech and Debates in them*, was inſiſted upon and *fundamentally* eſtabliſhed by the *States* of both Kingdoms, when they *Elected* their preſent Majeſties to the Throne. How well this is obſerved and made good to both Kingdoms, is obvious enough. It is not for Redreſſing of Grievances, amending or preſerving the Laws, they are aſſembled; but for giving of Money. The craving Neceſſities of the State, the preſſing Circumſtances of the Confederates and foreign Affairs, the early Preparations of the French King, an honourable Peace, the Good of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and Fears of King *James*; are become the cruel and everlaſting Topicks, the common and ordinary Stale, whereby the true Intent of Parliaments is baffled, and the Money-buſineſs quickened and finiſhed. The laſt is now ſo much the buſineſs of Parliaments, and the firſt ſo little, that it is an equal Wager that this Court may come at laſt to plead *Preſcription* againſt *Parliaments*, as to any other buſineſs but Money-bills.

As to freedom of Speech and Debates, though there be none queſtioned for it, yet Members are ſo frequently

quently Diſcouraged and Frowned upon at Court, Diſgraced and turn'd out of Employments, whenever they launch out into an enquiry after Grievances, or the preſent Adminiſtration: And upon the other hand, the Places of Honor and Truſt, and the Money of the Nation, are ſo openly and viſibly employed for *Debauching* of Members from a ſenſe and feeling of the true Intereſts of the People, and for diveſting them of all the publick and generous Notions, Zeal, unwearied and bold Endeavours for the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, (the joynt Good and Intereſt of King and Kingdom,) which hath been hitherto ſo much the Glory and Entertainment of brave *Engliſh* Spirits in our *Parliaments*; that this native and neceſſary Freedom of Speech and Debates, is more viſibly *threatned* and more effectually *deſtroyed*, than ever could have been done by Force, Sentence, or Impriſonment. We are ſooner *wheedled* with falſe, if gilded, *pretences*, than *hectored* or *huffed* into a Court Compliance.

Laſtly, Was there ever a Reign, wherein the Plunderings and Free-Quarterings of Soldiers was more countenanced, and the People more grievouſly oppreſſed by them, than in this? The Complaints of *Scotland* upon that head already hinted at, the irregular and unheard of Abuſes and Miſcarriages of the *Iriſh* Army, the Deſolations brought upon that miſerable Kingdom by them, and the daily Inſtances we meet with of that nature in this Kingdom, are convincing and undeniable Evidences of the Truth of it. Nay, to ſuch a paſs is it already come, that when a Secretary of State was applied unto by Perſons injured, who were intirely in the Intereſt of the Government, and preſented by the Knight of the Shire with Complaints againſt the Abuſes and Free-Quartering of Soldiers; they were ſcornfully rejected with this Anſwer, *That Men and Horſes muſt eat*: Meaning, no doubt, that ſince the Taxes deſigned by the Parliament for that end, were neceſſarily to be applied unto the uſe of the *Confederates*, the People muſt be *doubly burdened* for the Subſiſtence of the Troops. Such brave *Guardians* are our preſent *Rulers* become of the Engliſh *Liberties*.

Here we have a ſad but true *Catalogue* of our Miſeries; only it is not full and compleat. The preſent *Adminiſtration* can furniſh us with a great many more *Inſtances*: But I have confined my ſelf to a Deduction of thoſe *groſſer Errors*, which viſibly *infringed* the *pretences* of the Prince's *Declaration*, and the *Petition of Rights*; the ſecuring and preſerving of which, was the Reaſon expreſly aſſigned for his *Election* into the Throne. If in the *Infancy* of his Government, when his ſenſe of Gratitude for the Gift of Three Crowns, if ever, muſt be *freſh* in his Memory; when the Hearts and Hands, as well as the Purſes of the People, were *neceſſary* for his Support; when his *Honour* as well as *Intereſt* called for a *different* Conduct, he run ſo *warmly* into ſuch Meaſures; what muſt we

we feel, when he comes to ſit ſure and be fixt upon his Throne?

We may certainly conclude upon the Inclinations and *future* Deſigns of a Prince, by his *preceeding* Conduct, and the *choice* of his Miniſters, and from both theſe Reflections, in *preſent* Caſe, we have but a melancholy View of our *future* Condition. Are not thoſe very Men, who in both Kingdoms were the *Authors*, *Contrivers*, and *Actors*, of the moſt Arbitrary and grievous Proceedings, which were complained of, during the *Reigns* of our two laſt Monarchs, become the *Miniſters*, the *Darlings*, the *Favourites* of this Reign? Have they changed their Principles and Maxims? The former *Inſtances*, in which they have their ſhare, may *convince* us of the contrary.

Is it to be imagined that a Prince, who *ſignalized* his Entry upon the Stage of publick Affairs with a *breach* of the moſt ſolemn *Oaths* to the contrary, the *Deſtruction* of the Liberties of his *Native* Country, and by *graſping* at a Power which the *Nature*, *Laws*, and *Conſtitutions* of that Government denied to his *Character* in it; will be more tender of his *Oaths* to us, and of our *Conſtitution*? His *paſt Conduct* may clear it unto us; we are Strangers to him, and he to us; his Affections, as well as his Birth, are *foreign*; he diſtruſts and deſpiſeth us, as *treacherous* to our former King; he may *Love the Treaſon, but Hates the Traytors*. It is not a *ſingle* Crime can entitle us to his Favour; it is by a *Sacrifice* both of King and Countrey we can *touch* his Heart; it is only by this *double* Treaſon we can get into his Confidence. The Fate and Diſgrace of thoſe Perſons, who upon this Revolution frankly *ſacrificed* the firſt, but knew not how to *ſubdue* their Scruples as to the laſt, may ſufficiently *prove* this Truth. We have none but our ſelves to blame for this Miſchief: By our *Abdicating* Vote, and ſubſequent Meaſures, our antient, juſt, and legal Government, is deſtroyed and overturned; and in ſo doing, we have diſingaged him from the Promiſes he made in his Declaration, ſince it was only *under a juſt and legal Government that we were aſſured of his Endeavours to preſerve our Laws, Rights, and Liberties.* Let us yet a little farther examine the Benefits we ſhall reap from this Revolution, the Means we have to ſupport it, and what will probably be the Iſſue of all theſe great Tranſactions.

The *malignant* aſpect of our late Meaſures, towards our beloved Rights and Privileges, ſeems to be pretty well cleared already, and ſcarce admits of an *Aggravating* Thought more; unleſs we conſider that we are like to pay the *Price* of a perfect and laſting *Cure*, for downright *Poyſon* and a mortal conſuming *Feavour*: But perhaps this Victorious Prince, by his Conqueſts and admirable Conduct, will raiſe the Military Glory of this Nation ſo high, and enlarge her Territories and Command ſo far, as ſhall quite darken and eclipſe the Luſtre and Fame of our greateſt and moſt fortunate

tunate Kings; and thereby alleviate, or quite bury our Sense and Feeling of past, present, and future Miseries. If the *Laurels* and *Conquests* of a Monarch, which are first drenched in the Tears, and founded upon the Slavery of the People, could atone for such Miseries, the *French* at this Day would be the happiest People in *Europe*. This will not pass upon *English* Men, who observe from their Histories, that the most *Victorious* of their Monarchs have always been most *tender* and *careful* of their Liberties; and I am afraid that even this faint Comfort shall not be afforded us. What reason have we to expect, that by the *Conduct* and *Military* Knowledge of a Prince, (against whom the Naked and Undisciplined *Irish* made Head for three Campaigns together,) we shall be able to gain Towns and Provinces, from the more Numerous, better Disciplined, and Conducted Troops of *France*? For though the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning a* French *Invasion*, flatters us with our Victories over the *French* at the *Boyn*, *Athlone*, *Agrim*, and *Limrick*; and from thence foretels our Success in *Flanders*; they were still but Undisciplined *Irish* we subdued, with difficulty enough in some of these Places; and our Victories over the *French* in *Ireland* or *Flanders*, have not as yet burdened our *Gazettes*. We have already expended many Millions of Money, and lost many Thousands of Men, and have nothing in return for all this Consumption of Blood and Treasure, but the Reduction of *Ireland*; which vigorous and early Measures could have secured unto us at the begining, and prevented the utter Ruin and Desolation of that Countrey; and our late Victory at Sea over the *French*, to comfort us for our two former Disgraces at *Bantry* and *Beachy*, the shameful loss of many of our Navy Royal to the Enemy, the Seizure of so many Hundreds of our Merchant Ships, and our Misfortunes in *Flanders*: Some of our former Princes, with a far less Expence of Men and Money, when Affairs were managed with true *English* Councils, and executed by *English* Men, have subdued whole Provinces, and given Law to *Europe*. But we go now upon Politicks, and are governed by Measures, which are Calculated rather for the Interest of *Foreign Confederate* Princes, than adjusted to the Honor, Profit, and Good of *England*. This Confederacy hath cost us already a great deal of Money; and it's plain, that the particular Interests, Ambition, and Pretences of these Foreign Princes gave Birth to the Prince's Undertaking, rather than any kind regard to our Religion, Rights and Liberties. It is pleasant enough to imagine that the *Pope*, the Fathers of the *Spanish Inquisition*, and the Authors of the *Hungarian* and *Piedmontish Persecutions*, against those of our Religion, should be so concerned to establish the *Protestant* Belief among us; and that those Foreign Princes, who have *extinguished* the least shadow of Liberty and Property in their own Dominions,

should

have such pangs of Conscience, and tender Regard for our expiring Liberties. They wanted our Money and our Troops, to carry on their several Pretences; and if they could be still sure of Feasting, and making War at our Expence, the Favour would be as acceptable from the Hands of King *James*, as from the Prince of *Orange*: But the Prince who must stand equally obliged to them for his mounting the Throne, and support in it, was judged a fitter Instrument, more humble, obedient and active, for emptying the English *Treasures* into Dutch *Exchequers*, than ever they could expect from our Natural King, whom they were afraid would be found more steady to a true English *Interest*, than to gratifie their unsatiable and boundless Pretences.

King *James* was a good Husband of his Treasure, and they were afraid would never be induced to part with any of it to them, but for *equivalent* Returns of Glory and Profit to the Nation. They knew the Prince had a weak side, which might be better wrought upon: His towring Ambition, and vast unlimited Desires after Command and a noisy Fame, exposed him continually to the Bait they designed him; which was, to pay him in airy Titles, empty Compliments, and feigned Pretences of Service and Obsequiousness, for our good *English* Gold, and brave *English* Troops. The Plot hath succeeded, and we have paid them very handsomly for the trick they put upon us; we have made vast Illues of Men and Money; we have liberally fed those needy Princes and their Troops; it is probable that more Money will be expected and demanded from us; what are we to have for all this Expence we have already made, and yet can see no end of? What *Cities*, what *Provinces*, are we to have? Is the *French* Navy to be burnt, or put into our hands? Are our old Pretences to the *French* Crown, at least to the Maritime Provinces, to be made good unto us? Or are we to reap nothing but the vain Honour of having contributed towards the Establishment of our Neighbours, by our own Ruine?

The Duties of Neighbourhood are mutual; and suppose them as strong and binding as the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invasion* would make them, they plead as strongly for us as against us: There lies as great an Obligation upon the Confederates, to assist us in the Recovery of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, as upon us to recover the lost Provinces in *Flanders* and upon the *Rhine* for them. No doubt our present King hath taken Care for it in his *Treaties* with the Confederates; if he hath not, it is a plain Discovery That the Interest of Foreigners is dearer to him than that of *England*. How unjust is it to rob us of the fruits of so many Millions spent, and of so many which are in hazard, with our Religion, Liberties, and our *All* to boot? If there be any effectual care taken for this by his Treaties, it were very fit the Nation were made acquainted with it, and that we certainly

tainly knew what we were to have, and what Security the Confederate Princes have given for making good ſuch Treaties; it muſt be more than Words and common Security, that can ballance the real Deeds and Kindneſſes which we are daily conferring upon them.

But I am afraid we have not ſo much as a bare Promiſe of any thing. The *Encreaſe* and *growing* Strength of our Monarchy lies ſo viſibly croſs to the ſeveral Pretences and Intereſts of the Confederates, that they would be *deaf* to any ſuch Propoſal; and the Prince depends too much upon them for the Support of his preſent Title, to preſs ſuch *ungrateful* things. Can any Man of Reaſon believe that the Dutch and the Houſe of *Auſtria* will agree to have the French Fleet put into our hands, which would render us Sovereigns of the Ocean, as well as of the Narrow Seas? Or is it not next to Frenzie, to imagine that the Houſe of *Auſtria* will ever give way that we ſhould recover our antient Footing in *France*, either in whole, or in part; by which ſo many Catholick Cities and Provinces would be ſubjected to Hereticks, the Communication betwixt *Spain* and *Flanders* cut off, by ſhutting up the Channel on both ſides; and our Monarchy put into ſuch a condition as would viſibly *Shock* the ambitious Deſigns of that Houſe; which they would again reſume upon recovery of their loſt Provinces? So that we are not to expect any new *Acquiſitions*, with all this vaſt Expence, but are to reſt ſatisfied with the Honour, or Folly rather, of raiſing the Houſe of *Auſtria* to its antient Greatneſs; and building up a Power which would more fatally threaten us and the reſt of *Europe*, than that which we muſt be at ſuch Pains and Expence to pull down.

If the Proſpect of a ſucceſsful War be ſo little encouraging, what have we to fear and feel from an unfortunate Iſſue? How ſadly may we come to be whipt, when we ſhall be obliged to take back our *Abdicated* Monarch, whether we will or no? There will be nothing then to truſt to for the Safety of our Religion and Liberties, but the good Nature and true Engliſh Temper of a Prince, whom in that Caſe we have injured, ſlighted, and deſpiſed to the laſt degree: Nay, upon the Iſſue of a ſucceſsful War againſt *France*, we may be obliged to undergo the ſame Fate. So far will this War, in any *Event*, be from terminating in an *Eſtabliſhment* of our preſent Settlement, that it doth viſibly *tend* to the contrary. This will appear no Paradox to any Man who doth exactly weigh the different Intereſts and Politicks of the ſeveral States of *Europe*, with Relation to us, and amongſt themſelves. Such a curious and diligent Obſerver will quickly diſcover how much more agreeable King *James*'s Reſtauration would be to the ſecret *concealed Intereſt* of all our Neighbouring States, than the Prince of *Orange*'s preſent Royalty.

The good Intentions of *France* towards it, is not to be doubted. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, after their Preten-

ces upon *France* are satisfied, do certainly become Favourers of King *James's* Restauration, both upon the account of Religion, and to remove a *Dutch Stadtholder* from being King of *Britain*; thereby to facilitate their antient Pretences upon those revolted Provinces. The *Dutch* will heartily agree to his Restauration, to get rid of their Stadtholder, who presseth so hard upon their Liberties; they will be in no more Fears from *France* from this supposed Issue of the War; and they'll believe the Interest of *England* would always oblige its Monarch to cover and protect 'em from the Ambition of the House of *Austria*. The best Wishes of *Sweden* cannot be wanting, were it only by the Admission of the Prince of *Wales's* Right to place the Prince of *Denmark* a Remove farther from the Crown; since his Accession to the Royalty amongst us, by Vertue of his Princess's Title, might endanger the Conquests which that Crown hath made upon *Denmark*. And since the Politicks of *Denmark*, with relation to us, are solely level'd at his Brother's Interest; whenever the *Indignities* done to the Prince and Princess of *Denmark* shall oblige them to resume that Duty and Loyalty which is *due* from them to their kind old Father, who is still ready to receive them, and to secure unto them those Advantages which they can never expect from the Pr. of *Orange*; the Concurrence of that Crown towards King *James's* Restauration can be no longer wanting. I do but hint at things, which are of sufficient Importance to make all true *English Men*, who love their Country and their Liberties, to bethink themselves seriously how to cover and secure all those great and valuable Rights from the Oppression of the P. of *Orange*, the Miseries, Poverties, and Dangers, which will inevitably attend either a successful or unsuccessful War. We have thrown our selves into a *State-Hurricane*, from which there is no way of escaping, but by *restoring* the just and legal Government of this Nation into its *antient* and *unquestioned* Channel.

Having fully established and made out the first three Motives assigned for K. *James's* Restauration, I shall enquire a little into the fourth and last, *(viz.) the Securing of the* Protestant Religion *for all future Ages*. This appears a great Paradox to the Author of *The Pretences of the French Invasion examined*; at which he falls into Exclamations against Mankind, as the oddest Piece of the Creation, for believing such incredible things. But it is not his bold, impudent, and false Assertions, supported only by empty and noisy Eloquence, which can hide the *Danger* from us, that our *Religion*, as well as our *Liberties* and *Properties* lie under from this *Revolution*. For clearing the Truth and Weight of this Motive, I shall make it evident, That our *Religion* was in no probability of being overturned by K. *James's* Practices before this Revolution; That it was in our Power to have secured it, even against our Fears and Jealousies, without any *Breach* upon the antient Government; That the Dethroning

of

of Monarchs upon the Pretence of *Religion*, hath been fatal and deſtructive to all the ſeveral *Proteſtant* States who attempted it: That according to all appearance, it will be equally fatal in our *Caſe* and Circumſtances: And laſtly, I ſhall make it evident, from a full and diſtinct Anſwer to all the Arguments brought by the Authors againſt King *James*'s Reſtauration, That the beſt, ſureſt, and moſt infallible way, whereby to ſecure the *Proteſtant Religion*, our *Liberties* and *Properties*, upon laſting and durable Foundations, is, by returning to our Duty, and reſtoring our *Abdicated Monarch* by as general a Conſent as he was chaſed away by us.

It is very natural and common with Mankind, and with Princes as well as others, to have ſome more particular Regard towards thoſe of their own Religion; to wiſh them well, and to endeavour their eaſe when it lies in their Power; ſo that it was nothing extraordinary to find King *James* labouring to give his Catholick Subjects a Right and Title to that eaſe and Security, which the Laws of the Land had deprived them of. I do not believe that *Liberty of Conſcience* in general, and the covering of People from Perſecution on that ſcore, can be rationally condemned as deſtructive and ruinous to the Proteſtant Religion; we ought to have a better Opinion of the Principles of our Faith, and be better convinced of their Truth and Excellency, than to be afraid to have 'em baffled or ſhaken, much leſs ruined, by the Reaſons of any other Perſuaſion. That Religion which dares not ſhew its Face publickly, and ſtand the ſhock of all its Adverſaries, without ſcreening it ſelf under the Severity of Penal Laws, furniſheth great Suſpicion to curious and prying Men of its weakneſs and inſufficiency: But this, I hope, is not our Caſe; our moſt holy Religion is built upon that Rock of Ages, which can never be ſhaken; is fortified by the Teſtimonies of the Law and the Prophets, and expreſly contained in the Word of God, or derived from thence by clear and neceſſary Conſequences, and can ſubſiſt by its own worth and excellency, without robbing the reſt of Mankind of that Liberty their Birth-right Intitles them to, and enſlaving Conſciences. So that King *James* his Principle about *Liberty of Conſcience*, if duly and legally Eſtabliſhed, will be allowed: But it is the Method we complained of, which diſcovered ſome farther Deſign than bare *Liberty of Conſcience*, and thereby did viſibly threaten our Civil Rights and Liberties, and endanger our Religion.

Why, truly the Meaſures taken were unjuſtifiable; but we know to whoſe Council and Advice they were owing: The whole was a Plot upon that Prince, to ſpoil the Project of *Liberty of Conſcience*, which would have rivited him in his Throne; and to improve his Inclinations for the Roman Religion to his own ruin and deſtruction. But ſuppoſe ſomething more was intended by ſome, than a bare *Liberty*; perhaps the opening

a Door of Preferment to Catholicks, or the *propagating* that Religion over this Iſland: Such an Undertaking is irrational, fooliſh and deſperate; can never be accompliſhed; and the *impoſſibility* of it is ſo plain and obvious, that no Man who underſtands the World, and knew *England* and Engliſh Men ſo well as K. *James* did, could believe it *practicable*. And as to the *miraculous* and *enterprizing* Faith of Prieſts and new Converts, the Zeal, Folly, and Warmneſs of *their Brains*, will always prevent any *real* Miſchiefs; nay King *James* his Reign, even upon the Suppoſition that it was as bad as is alledged, is an undeniable Proof that the Proteſtant Religion cannot be *undermined*, nor the Popiſh Religion *eſtabliſhed* in theſe Kingdoms, by the Addreſs or Authority of any Prince.

I ſhall give it for granted, That all imaginable Methods were taken for propagating the Popiſh Religion; that they were indulged in the publick Exerciſes of it; that Court Preferments were thrown upon them, merely upon the account of their Religion, without any Virtue or Merit to Entitle them to them; that Proteſtants were abſolutely and upon all occaſions diſcouraged; that it was endeavour'd to make the World believe, that all Favours and Preferments were for the one, and nothing but Diſgraces and Frowns for the other; that there was the greateſt Care, Pains, and Application, in the World, made uſe of, to make the Army and Courts of Judicature. I do believe, by this Suppoſition, I have *out-done* all that the moſt *malicious* Enemies will urge againſt K. *James*; and yet all the World knows what little *Progreſs* was made, how few *Converts* were gained, and how *really weak* their beſt and ſureſt *Precautions* did appear when it came to the Touch. If ſo many of his Subjects, Soldiers and Servants, were prevailed upon by Fears and Jealouſies, which were *maliciouſly* and *induſtriouſly* heightened above what any Reaſon which was given for them could well bear; what muſt then have been the Conſequence, if by real, publick, and undoubted *Diſcoveries*, the King's Intentions to ruine the Eſtabliſhed Religion had been made *unqueſtionably* plain and evident: Nothing leſs than an *univerſal* Defection, and his perpetual *Baniſhment* from the Hearts and Affections of every Engliſh Man, could have followed.

The Catholicks of *Britain* are not one of a hundred; they have neither Heads, Hearts, nor Hands enough to force a National Converſion. As the Proteſtants are the moſt Numerous, ſo the *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* are upon their ſide; their Civil Rights and Liberties are twiſted together with their Religious, and whoſoever ſtrikes at the laſt, muſt infallibly wound the firſt. It is not eaſie to overturn the Laws and *Fundamental* Conſtitutions, whereby *Religious* and *Civil Rights* are ſecured to free born People; we are in Poſſeſſion by our Laws of our Religion, and of that Liberty which *diſtinguiſheth* our Happineſs from that of other Sub-

Subjects; we *love* it, and *know* its true Worth; we value and esteem our selves above other People, upon the account of our *Native Freedoms*, and we will not easily *part* with 'em; all Attempts and Designs upon them have been unsuccessful. Ambitious Princes, and Arbitrary Ministers may be forming Projects and Designs, fortifying them the best way they can, and making Parties for them; but our *Constitution*, together with the *Protestant* Religion, which is now become part of it, and our *Laws*, will prove always too *hard* for them at last: Nothing can expose or betray our Religion and Constitution to any danger, but overmuch *fondness* in the People to a Prince, who under some popular Mask and Pretence, covers *close* and *fatal* Designs against either. Let us but examine the present condition of our Neighbouring States, and we shall find that *Raptures* of Love in the People have *overturned* more Constitutions, and *built* up more Despotick Governments, than the *Force* or *Address* of Princes could ever do. It is commonly received for a Truth, That *Love is blind* and credulous, and certainly holds good, with relation to a Political Affection. There is a certain allowable *Jealousie* in the People, which is very consistent with the Duty, Affection, and Respect *due* to the Prince; and guards and protects their Laws and Constitution. Without some *Measure* of this Jealousie, the Constitution will be always in danger; and this *Antidote* can never be wanting in the *Protestant* Subjects of *Britain*, under a *Popish* King: His *Religion* gives us such a lively end active *Jealousie* of him, makes us so *watchful*, and puts us so much upon our *guard*, that all the *Efforts* of such a Prince, though never so dextrous, supported by so weak and inconsiderable a Party as the Catholicks of *Britain*, can never *endanger* Religion and Liberty. Rather his *Circumstances* and *Inclinations* to those of his own Religion, their ease and quiet, might have been *improved* into farther and more real *Securities* for Religion and Liberty, by a wise and discreet *Treaty*, orderly *managed* in Parliament.

To all this it may be alledged, That though the Catholicks of *Britain* be not a Party sufficient to carry on, and effectuate such Designs; yet the Forces of the *Hector* of *France* were still at the Command and Service of his Dear and Faithful Ally, for carrying on so good and meritorious a Work, as that of Reducing *Great Britain* into the Bosom of the *Roman Church*: This is maliciously and artfully enough suggested; but let us examine it a little. How doth it appear that K. *James* was become so lost to all Reason, Morality and Discretion, as to resolve to call in a *French Power* to over-run a Countrey which was his own, and to destroy a People who were living peaceably under him; by which, from one of the most Considerable and Potent Monarchs of *Europe*, he would have become the Least and most Contemptible? His refusal of *French* Troops

Troops and Assistance, when threatened with a Foreign Invasion, seems to be no great Proof of this; and his betaking himself at that time to the Love and Affection of his Subjects, as it was a plain discovery he was not Conscious to himself of any real Design, which could destroy that mutual Love and Confidence betwixt Prince and People, which is a Debt due from the one to the other, however his Measures might have been Traduced, or maliciously Poysoned; so it may let us see how improbable it is to imagine, that a Prince could ever form Designs of destroying a People whose Affections he durst trust in such an Extremity. Again, What Reason is there to imagine that the French King would be so ready to furnish Troops, and be at the Charge of such a Reformation? He is generally allowed to be a Prince who studies his own Interest the most of any; and fits all his Maxims, his Conduct and Allyances, exactly to it; and never takes a step, which upon the remotest view, may seem to *cross* the Interest of his Crown and Monarchy: And if it do appear, as certainly it will to any judicious thinking Man, that the Reducing *Great Britain* to the Bosom of the *Roman Church* may greatly endanger the Crown of *France*, than all fears of a *French Reformation* will fall to the Ground.

The English Pretences to the most considerable *Maritime* Provinces, may upon the Crown of *France* it self, are generally known; and Histories can inform us how troublesome, how dangerous they were, and how successfully many times carried on against those Monarchs; partly by the natural Boldness, Spirit, and Courage of the *English*, far surpassing that of the *French*; but more especially from the Inclination of the *French* themselves to live under a Government which was so much *easier*, and more *agreeable* than their own; it being natural for People to covet the same Plenty and Freedom, which they see are injoyed and possessed by their Neighbours. Hence it was, that though we lost all our Footing in *France*, yet still our Forces and Enmity were more dreadful to those Monarchs, than those of any other State in *Europe*, though more considerable for its native Strength, and confining by dry Marches upon 'em; and they always Courted our Friendship and Allyance, with the greatest Submissions and Applications imaginable: And until the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the French did always chuse rather to *divert* our Invasions with their Money and Treaties, than to *encounter* them by Force; being afraid to *grapple* with that Power, which they had so often felt to their Cost. Since that time, neither our Friendship hath been so much Courted, nor our Enmity so carefully avoided as formerly. This doth not proceed from the increase of the French Power, and decrease of ours; though the Revenues and Military Force of *France* be strangely augmented since; ours, in proportion, hath received the same increase: Our Treasure is augmented; and

that

that being the Sinews of War, quickly furniſheth and maintains every thing elſe: And the other States of *Europe* are, from the Circumſtances of Affairs, better diſpoſed for *Allyances* with us, than ever they were in the time of our *Anceſtors*. So that *France* is but ſtill *France*, and *England* in the ſame Proportion with it, as to Force and Revenue; and in a more promiſing Condition of making *Allyances*, and of being more *uſefully* ſerved by them: Our Pretences are ſtill the ſame, and every whit as Strong and Juſt, and we as willing and deſirous to make Advantage of them; and yet we are in no reſpect ſo formidable to that Crown, as formerly; nor in a Condition to ſhake that State, and make ſuch impreſſions into the Heart of *France*, as our Anceſtors have done: The true Reaſon is our *difference* in Religion; for we being *Proteſtants*, and *France Popiſh*; this ſets the Two Nations at a greater diſtance from mutual Correſpondence and Contrivances, which muſt neceſſarily *preceed* and *occaſion* important Revolutions, than all their former Animoſities, Emulation, and Duty to their natural Prince could ever do. Loyalty to Princes, National Conſiderations, and Point of Honor and Reputation, do many times *give way* to preſent and future Advantages: But when *Religion* and Point of *Conſcience* comes in to gather and cement all thoſe divided Intereſts together, and unite them, as it were, into one bundle, they become the more hard and difficult to overcome. This plain and evident Reaſon cannot eſcape the Knowledge and Reflection of ſo wiſe a Prince, as the *French* King is acknowledged to be. The difference in Religion is a much greater Security to him againſt our Attempts, than his Armies, Fleets, or Strength of his Towns. The Senſe of Religion doth many times rouze and inflame the Courage and Reſolutions of Men, when other humane Conſiderations prove too weak to quicken their drooping Spirits: *Catholicks* will fight to the laſt, to eſcape the Dominion of ſuch as they believe *Hereticks*; when, perhaps, *French* Men would be willing enough to come under the *Engliſh* Government, which is ſo much *eaſier* and *better* than their own. I do not queſtion but this very Conſideration alone, will prove ſtrong enough to keep the French King from endeavouring our Reunion to the *Roman Church*; which would make the Pretences of an *Engliſh* Monarch more dangerous than ever, by our Union with *Scotland*, which formerly gave ſuch notable *Diverſions* to our Forces both at Home and in *France*: That *Prince's* Diſputes with the *Pope*, for Point of Prerogative, ſhews plainly that he never will endanger his Crown in his own Perſon, or Poſterity, to ſerve the Intereſts and Deſires of the *Papal Chair*; from all which we may lately conclude, that the Proteſtant Religion, in *Britain*, was in no great danger of being ruined by King *James*, though really as bad as he was repreſented.

If our Religion and Liberties were placed ſo much out of *Danger* of being overturned, by the Laws and Franchiſes we were then in *Poſſeſſion* of, how much better might we have *eſtabliſhed* them for the future, and *placed* them above the ſhadow of any *Danger*, by embracing and improving the Offers which our lawful Prince made us, of *Carving* out our own Satisfaction and Securities? He was ſurprized with an aſtoniſhing *Defection* of his Subjects, with a *Conſpiracy* of a great many Princes and States againſt him. He knew no place but *France* to retire unto; where he might have a Cover for his Head, but could have no great Expectations of being quickly reſtored to his Throne by a Power which had ſo much other Diverſion. He was unwilling in his *old Age* to go into *Exile*, was very deſirous to leave a perfect Calm to his Son, before his own Death, which by the Courſe of Nature, and the ordinary Deſtiny of his Family, he could not believe was very remote; and had a *Love* and *Kindneſs* to us ſtill, as a Father for his *Diſobedient Children*. All which would have procured us, from our lawful King, a laſting, legal, full, and happy *Settlement*; would have eſtabliſhed our Religion, *bettered* and *ſecured* our Liberties upon *laſting* Foundations, without any *trouble*, and with a great deal of *innocency*. How many crimes would have been avoided by following this Method; and how many more prevented, which will be neceſſary, if we be obſtinate, to ſupport and maintain the *Injuſtice* we have done? How many *Millions* of Money, and how many *Lives* might have been ſaved, or at leaſt more *profitably* employed, by the Conduct and good Husbandry of our *Lawful* King, for the Honor of *England*, reſtraining the unbounded Pretences of ambitious Neighbours, and in giving Peace and Quiet to *Europe*? There is no queſtion, but a King who was ſo unwilling to leave us, and had ſo much of an Engliſh Spirit, would have gone into any Meaſures, with relation to foreign Affairs, that his Parliament ſhould have thought fitting; in which caſe, what returns of Glory and Profit would this Nation and Monarchy have reaped from this Blood and Treaſure, which is now abſolutely loſt and thrown away, and our future Expences and Dangers daily growing upon us, with as little hope of Succeſs? My heart is ſo rent and torn with the thoughts of it, that my Pen is ready to drop out of my hand as I write: But we wantonly longed for an *Abdication*, without examining the true *Value* of what we refuſed, and the *Conſequences* were to follow upon the other Meaſures. We have made a *religious* War of it, which may be fatally *returned* upon us; and we never conſidered that Defections upon Pretences for the Proteſtant Religion, ſeldom or never terminate otherwiſe than by the Deſtruction of *Religion* and *Pretenders* both. It ſeems God Almighty did alwas diſcover more of Paſſion and Worldly Deſigns, than true Zeal for Religion, in thoſe Undertakings; and I am afraid, That ſince we deſerve the

the like Charge, our punishment may be the same, unless by a seasonable and early *Repentance* we prevent it.

The first Example I find in History, is *Ziska's* War in *Bohemia*, against the Emperor *Sigismond*; which tho' managed as successfully in the beginning as any thing we can flatter our selves with, yet had an end very fatal to the Reformation in that Kingdom. The Civil Wars in *Germany*, managed by the Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, against *Charles* V. had no better issue; many Imperial Cities and Provinces were lopt off from our Communion, and the principal Actors themselves were remarkable Sufferers by it, and their Families wear the Scars of it to this day. The second Bohemian War, under the Elector *Palatine*, whom they had chosen for their King, was yet more fatal to that Kingdom than the first, and almost ruined the King of *Denmark*, did exceedingly weaken the Protestant Interest in *Germany*, and laid the Foundation for the present Grandeur of *France*, which is so terrible to *Europe* at this time: Upon the Event of that War the Civil Rights and Liberties of the Subject, as well as the Protestant Religion, in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, were entirely ruined and extinguished: The principal Electorate of the Empire, together with the Palatinate of *Bavaria*, were wrested out of a *Protestant*, and placed in a *Popish* Family: Several other Protestant Princes and States were lost; and the French possessed of both the *Alsatias*, which hath since given infinite Disturbances to that Empire. And the *Hungarian* War, commenced first upon pretence of Religion, which came at last to be managed by *Tekely*, hath quite buried the Protestant Religion in *Hungary* and *Transilvania*: And it is very remarkable, That so long as they kept petitioning as Subjects, (*though with Arms in their hands*) for the free Exercise of their Religion, they were constantly Victorious, and got into the absolute Possession of the greatest part of that Kingdom; and might have fully secured their Religion and Liberties by Concessions and Immunities which the Emperor offered them in *repeated* Treaties: And yet no sooner was the Crown given to *Tekely*, and an *Allyance* made with the Turks to support him in it, but by a Series of Misfortunes all the former Successes were *unravelled*, and their Affairs reduced to the miserable Condition we now see them in.

What sad *Alarms* may such Instances give us? How truly do they point out our *Case*, and perhaps our *Fate*? Can any of the above-mentioned Examples discover such plain and visible Marks of Worldly Ambition, Self-interest, and corrupted Designs and Artifices, for their *Original*, as have evidently actuated the Contrivers of and principal Agitators in our *Revolution*? And yet how fatally were they punished? And can we hope to escape? The Emperor *Ferdinand* was in a worse Condition to resist the Elector *Palatine*, backed by the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, countenanced by

Britain and *Holland*; and the preſent Emperor *Leopold* was under harder Circumſtances to ſupport a War againſt his *Hungarian Rebels* and the *Turkiſh Power*, than any that *France* hath to grapple with from *us* and our *Allies*; and yet their numerous *Armies* and ſtrong *Allies* could not ſecure them from thoſe *Miſeries* which did at laſt *overtake* them. There is no way for us to get ſafe from the Precepices we have been walking upon, to retrieve our Religion from the deſperate Danger we have run it into, and to ſettle and ſecure it, but by a *National* returning to our Duty; which will ſufficiently atone for ſo *General* a Defection, by reſuming that Treaty we ſo fooliſhly broke off and refuſed, and thereby ſecuring Religion and Property by thoſe Conceſſions which our Sovereign is ſtill ready to grant us: Let us put it *home* to him, and lay it at his own *Door*; let him have it in his Choice to *return* by his People if he pleaſeth; convince him that his Proteſtant Subjects, upon ſecuring their Religion and Liberties, will *repair* their former Errors, by contributing *heartily* towards his Reſtauration: And if he decline to return upon a *Proteſtant* and *Engliſh* Foot, there is an end of the *Controverſie*, and of all *Diſputes* amongſt Proteſtants; for *Religion* and *Liberty* will never be *ſacrificed* by true *Engliſh Men*.

I am come in the laſt place to the Objections, raiſed by the new Authors, againſt King *James*'s Return; which are ſtuffed with virulent, falſe, and ſophiſtical Reaſonings, and in a great Meaſure taken off by what hath been already ſaid. The firſt thing they endeavour to frighten us with, is a *Conqueſt*, and with *Popery* and *Slavery*, as the neceſſary Conſequences of it; ſince it is impoſſible K. *James* can return otherways, becauſe K. *William* will not Abdicate. I abhor the thoughts of *Conquering* my native Countrey, as much as any Man; more it ſeems than the Author of *A Letter to a Friend*, who would allow of it in the Perſon of K. *William*; and I am againſt it in any Caſe. But by whom are we to be *Conquered*; and to whom muſt the *Conqueſt* belong? Are we to be Conquered by ſuch Troops as King *James*, in point of Prudence, and according to the practiſes of all Ages in the like Caſe, muſt bring with him for the Defence of his Perſon, and the untying of that Force which the Prince hath put upon us? I know no reaſon, why it may not be as lawful for K. *James* to bring Fifteen Thouſand Men to aſſiſt him in recovering his Throne, as it was for the P. of O. to bring the like number to chaſe him out of it; and that without giving any Jealouſie to us of a Conqueſt. Thrice that Number were too few to make a Conqueſt of this Iſland; and I hope they will be ſo well ſeconded, and ſo far out-numbred by the Acceſſion of his own Subjects, upon a feeling Diſcovery of the Prince of *Orange*'s Tyranny, as well as of the Injuſtice done their King, as may juſtly ſtamp it a *Revolution* brought about by Engliſh Men, who have Conquered their *Paſſions*, and not their *Countrey*;

trey; *reſcued*, and not *enſlaved* the Nation; and who have *preſerved*, and not *endangered* their Religion.

Is this imaginary *CONQUEST* to make us Slaves to the Fr. King, or Catholicks and Slaves to K. *James*? I cannot believe the firſt: For I do not think K. *James* ſo much in love with the French King, as to make him a Preſent of Three Crowns to the prejudice of Himſelf and his Poſterity; and ſo become either his *Subject*, or his *Vaſſal*. Theſe are ſuppoſitions fit only to paſs upon Children, deſerve no ſerious Anſwer, and plainly ſhew the weakneſs of the Cauſe, which can furniſh no better Reaſons wherewith to defend it. As to the laſt; The French King will never force us to be Catholicks, for the Reaſons already aſſigned; and it doth as little agree with his Intereſt, to have us Slaves to our Monarch. Friendſhips are ſeldom laſting amongſt Neighbouring Princes, rarely continue during their own Lives, and are never tranſmitted to their Poſterities; ſo many Reaſons and Jealouſies of State are falling in, which occaſion frequent and unavoidable Breaches: And a King of *England*, who is Abſolute and Maſter of his Subjects, would be a great deal more troubleſome and dangerous to *France* than otherways; and ſo it is not very probable that that Monarch will ever contribute to make us a *Conqueſt* to King *James*, and introduce *Popery* and *Slavery* amongſt us. There is one ſure way to prevent this danger of Conqueſt, and that is by the vigorous endeavours of every Engliſh Man, to repair the Injury done to our *Abdicated Monarch*. King *William*'s unwillingneſs to *Abdicate*, which theſe Authors threaten us with, can't put a ſtop to it: His Breaches upon our *Laws* and *Conſtitution*, and his violation of the *Original Contract* made with himſelf deſerve it; and it is not all his *Partiſans* and *Troops*, can cover him from *Abdication* whenever the People of *England* thinks fit to declare it.

We are told next by theſe Authors, *That* K. James *is become ſo in love with the French Government; that we ſhall never ſo much as have his promiſe for ſecuring our Religion and Liberties, even though we have no reaſon to depend upon that, or any other Security he can give us; ſince he hath undertaken to the* Pope *and* K. *of* France *to make void all when he is upon his Throne; and that it is viſible from his Carriage in* Ireland *to the Proteſtants there, that neither the ſad Example of* K. Charles *the Firſt, who ſuffered for the like Attempts towards Arbitrary Power, nor the freſh Remembrances of his own Misfortunes, will ever oblige him to lay aſide his Arbitrary Deſigns: And however inſtrumental Proteſtants may be in his return, that Pardon for their former Failings is all can be expected from him, without obtaining the leaſt kind regard to their Religion or Liberties on that Score.*

I would gladly know upon what Grounds they aſſert, that K. *James* will grant no Security at all for Religion and Liberty? Have they made the Experiment, and been re-

refuſed? It is not bare Aſſertion can convince us of the Truth of it, ſince we are aſſured to the contrary. I have heard of a Scotch Plot for Reſtoring King *James*; the particulars of it I am not acquainted with: Only I have been told, *That upon the Application of ſome few Gentlemen of that Nation unto him, he frankly granted them, under the Broad Seal of* Scotland, *all that was propoſed for the ſecurity of Religion and Liberty; and agreed to ſeveral Immunities which the P. of O. refuſed that Nation, though he was ſolemnly engaged to grant them when the Crown of that Kingdom was tendered unto him.* Here is more than a bare Promiſe; the Conceſſions are paſſed under the Broad Seal, and granted by him, when his Affairs were in Promiſing Circumſtances; at the deſire of a few Gentlemen who had been active againſt him, and who could make no ſuch conſiderable Addition unto his Party, as might induce him to it; unleſs his own *Inclinations*, when free from the *preſſure* of *deſigning* Miniſters, and *readineſs* to rectifie whatever was *grievous* to the People, had put him upon it. Can it be doubted after this, that he will deny any thing that is neceſſary for the good and happineſs of his Subjects whenever they apply ſeriouſly unto him for it?

But he muſt make good his Engagements to the Pope *and King of* France, *and make void all when he remounts the Throne, which his hard Circumſtances obliged him to grant.* If this were made plain unto us, there would be a great deal of weight in it; all the Evidence we have for it is the *Veracity* of the Author, which goeth no great length; being founded only upon Suppoſition, that he could not be countenanced by thoſe Princes without ſuch an Engagement. This is an Argument that concludes more forcibly againſt themſelves; ſince it is reaſonable to imagine, that more ſolemn and ſacred Engagements in favour of the *Holy Chair*, and a *Conviction* of more punctual and ready Performances, were neceſſary to induce the *Pope*, and ſo many *Popiſh* Princes to countenance a *Proteſtants* mounting the Throne, to the prejudice of a *Papiſt*.

I am yet to learn what were the great Merits of the Iriſh Proteſtants ſince the Revolution, the freſh Obligations laid upon him, and what were the new Diſcoveries he gave us there of his hatred to Proteſtants, and irregular Arbitrary Courſes. I have ſeen a Book written by Dr. *King*, which theſe Authors refer us to, as ſufficient Evidence to make good their Charge; but it is ſo ſcandalouſly and notoriouſly Falſe, and ſtuffed with ſo many groſs Errors, and willful Miſtakes, in point of Hiſtory and matter of Fact, even in many things which fall under my own Knowlege, that the Doctor ſeems to have Calculated his Book for a Virulent falſe Libel; thereby to merit ſome Beniſice from this Government, rather than for our Information by a true and impartial Hiſtory: And the World ſhall be obliged with a particular Account of his Falſhoods and Calumnies, by a full and impartial

Account

Account of thoſe Tranſactions. But to come cloſe home to the Charge; Did not the Iriſh Proteſtants generally declare for the Prince of *Orange*? Did they not actually either appear in Arms for the Prince, or quit the Kingdom? And thoſe who ſtayd, were they not rather lookers on than actors, or any ways uſeful towards the aſſerting the King's Rights? I do not deſign this as a *Satyr* againſt the Proteſtants of *Ireland*; the Meaſures taken there gave them much better grounds for their Fears than any we can pretend: But only to ſhew that the Proteſtants of *Ireland* contributed no Endeavours towards his Reſtauration, but run generally along with the Stream againſt it; and ſo cannot be ſaid to have made any new Experiment of his Kindneſs to, and grateful Senſe of Obligations performed by Proteſtants. They never deſired, or obtained, any new Securities for their Religion and Liberties, upon the account of Services performed for him; and ſo have no *freſh Breaches* of Promiſe to charge upon him, as our Authors do inſinuate, whereby to deter the Proteſtants of *Britain* from contributing towards his Reſtauration.

On the contrary, we have a very convincing Argument, from his Care of his Proteſtant Subjects there, tho' either actually Enemies, or at beſt but idle Spectators; and his conſtant Endeavours to protect them from the Inſults and Fury of the *Iriſh*, of whom he was not fully Maſter; to convince us of the *Gratitude* and *kind* Returns we may expect from him, when at liberty, and *obliged* by our Services to expreſs them. How carefully did he preſerve their Eſtates and Goods? With how much Tenderneſs did he give free Paſſage to the Women and Children from *Londonderry*, when by denying it, he muſt infallibly have carried the Town? With what exact Diſcipline did he Govern an Army, ſerving without Pay, untill King *William*'s Proteſtant reforming Troops, which were under Pay, by their unheard of Plunderings, Robberies, and Oppreſſions, committed upon the poor Proteſtants within their Lines, gave ſuch Examples of Inſolence and looſe Diſcipline, that the *Iriſh* could be no longer reſtrained, as formerly; tho they never acted ſo extravagantly as the others. And I dare appeal to all the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, if the greateſt part of the Ruine of that miſerable Country be not due to the Plunderings, Abuſes, and want of Diſcipline in King *William*'s Army; which, though Proteſtant, and Reformers, did far outdoe the wild *Iriſh* in deſolating the Country, without regard to Friend or Foe: And I have heard many *Iriſh* Proteſtants affirm, That their Preſervation and Protection was due to King *James*'s own particular Care over them.

As to the Proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament, he did ſo much wreſtle againſt them, was ſo little Maſter of himſelf and Actions, and ſo much in the hands of *Iriſh*, that he is rather to be pitied than blamed for them: And 'tis very hard and unreaſonable, that when a King is forced from a Throne by his *Proteſtant* Subjects, and oppoſed

posed by them in his Endeavours after the Recovery of his Inheritance, and so necessitated to betake himself to the Assistance, Protection, and Services of Catholicks, unless he would renounce his undoubted Rights, which neither the Laws of God nor Man oblige him to; That Acts of Grace, which his *Circumstances*, and the *Necessity* of their *Assistance* forced from him, should be charged upon him as Crimes. *Let us labour for his Restauration; let us get him into our own hands, and deliver him from that cruel Necessity which carries him farther than his Inclinations would otherwise do; and whenever he is at liberty to act as an* English Man, *he will convince us that he is such.*

The Treatment that *Charles* I. met with is a sad Instance of the Vanity of all human Greatness, and a lasting Reproach to our Nation; but reacheth a more pertinent and apposite Reproof to King *William*'s Conduct than King *James*'s. The most considerable and important points which occasioned those fatal Disputes betwixt that Prince and his People, were illegal Imprisonments; the undue refusal of Liberty to Prisoners upon Bail, the free Quarterings and Plunderings of Soldiers, and the unwarrantable exacting of Money from the Subject, without Consent of Parliament. Are not all these illegal and arbitrary practices frequently *repeated* in this Government, and without any Precedent from K. *James*'s Reign?

The many Pages employ'd by the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invasion*, to prove, *That the Non swearing* Protestants, *as well as others, can merit nothing by their Endeavours for the King's Restauration, but a bare* Pardon *at most*, discovers more Logick, and Method in dividing of his Text, than true, solid and convincing Reason: For since a few *Scotch* Gentlemen, who had acted warmly and vigorously against him, and could contribute but little to his Service, were able to procure not only *Pardon*, but those great and important *Securities* for their Religion and the Liberties of their Country, which K. *William* had refused to the Desires and Addresses of a Parliament, that had given him the CROWN, and *pre engaged* his Consent before the *Gift*: Is it to be imagined, That so many worthy Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and Inferiour Clergy, who have testified so much Zeal, Firmness and Fidelity, by their Sufferings, joyn'd with the early Repentance and vigorous Endeavors of others for his Service, who have been hitherto blinded and misled, will not *prove* of more Weight, Importance, and Consideration, with him; be as *kindly* treated, and their *Country* for their sakes: Or rather, will not all Securities for Religion and Liberty be granted, from a due Regard to their Application, as well as from his own Inclination? Neither is it to be feared that any of their former Measures, which unhappily and accidentally have contributed towards that Ferment which begot this Revolution, will be remembred against them; since the King is sensible how far he himself was imposed upon, as well

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well as his Subjects, by the Cunning and Artifice of wicked and corrupted Miniſters which were about him. And whatever Jealouſies this Author may labour to infuſe into the Minds of People, of the firey and looſe Principles of the *Jacobites*, with Relation to the *Proteſtant* Religion, Church of *England*, and *Engliſh* Liberties; there are *Jacobites*, whoſe Principles are better, more fixed and rational, who have already, and will upon all occaſions never fail to give greater and more generous Teſtimonies of their Zeal and Affection for the *Eſtabliſhment* and *Security* of thoſe great Concerns, than any can be brought by our *preſent* Miniſters and *topping* Reformers; and who will never be found with this Author in juſtifying a *Conqueſt* of their native Countrey.

The Caution which is given us againſt another Revolution, leſt the Monarchy receive more vigour from a Reſtauration, than is convenient for the Liberties of the Subject, which the Author fortifies from an inſtance in the Return of *Charles* II. at which time, betwixt zeal, flattery and fear, the King encreaſed in Power, and the People loſt their Liberties; concludes very ſtrongly againſt himſelf, and for what I have been all along preſſing. If we do but conſider the true reaſon of thoſe Conceſſions made in favour of the Monarchy, upon the Return of K. *Charles*, the Nation was ſo wearied out, exhauſted and undone, by the Tyrannies and Executions, Taxes, Impriſonments, and other arbitrary Courſes againſt their Liberties and Properties, that were practiced during that Anarchy which intervened betwixt the Murther of the Father and Return of the Son, that upon a Proſpect of ſome Relief, by the re-eſtabliſhment of the antient Monarchy, the People fell into ſuch *Raptures* of Joy, which never fail of making Subjects ſo liberal to Princes, as many times occaſions a hearty but late Repentance. If K. *William* continue a little longer to oppreſs our Liberties, and drein our Purſes; or if the Title of *Conqueſt* be advanced, we ſhall be infallibly expoſed to the like hazard again; which cannot be prevented, but by an early *Return* to our Duty, whilſt we have ſome Patience, Wit and Money, left, to enable us to take *care* of our ſelves and our Poſterity.

The hard and difficult Queſtions, which this Author thinks he hath gravelled us with, and the obligation of the Oaths of Allegiance to K. *William*, come next to be conſidered. The firſt Queſtion is, *Whether we think our ſelves bound in Conſcience to fight for* Popery *againſt the* Proteſtant *Faith*. I Anſwer, *No*; nor doth this Anſwer make any thing for King *William*, ſince in no Senſe can the fighting for the Reſtauration of King *James* be called the fighting for *Popery* againſt the *Proteſtant* Religion; for it is both K. *James*'s Intereſt and his Inclination to return upon a *Proteſtant* Foot; and by aſſiſting him in it, we *vindicate* the Honor of our Religion, and *reſcue* it from the Dangers which *threaten* it from this Reign.

The ſecond Queſtion is, *Whether we think our ſelves bound in Con-*

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ſcience to fight for our Prince againſt the Laws and Liberties of our Countrey. I Anſwer in the Negative; and we do aſſure the World, That it is from a tender regard to our Laws and Liberties, as well as from a ſenſe of Duty, to repair the injury done our Exiled Prince, that we reſolve to contribute to his return. The antient Conſtitution was broke in upon by the *Abdication*, and our Laws, Rights and Liberties, have been more eminently and ſignally over-run during the P. of *Orange*'s Kingſhip, than by any of our moſt Violent and Arbitrary Princes, even when he was under the greateſt Obligation, cleareſt and moſt diſtinct Barriers placed againſt it; and we are poſſeſſed with reaſonable Fears, nay a certainty of having 'em quite ruined and extinguiſhed by his future Conduct, which layeth an Obligation upon all true Engliſh Men to repair theſe Breaches made upon the Conſtitution, and to vindicate and reſtore their oppreſſed and ruined Laws and Liberties, by returning K. *James* and the P. of *O.* into their proper and reſpective Stations.

But we are deſired and preſſed *to have ſome Care of the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of* Chriſt, *which will be viſibly endangered by the King's Reſtauration all* Europe *over*; *and to a due Regard for the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in* Europe, *which will be ſacrificed by it*; *That this ought to be more tenderly minded by us, ſince we are Citizens of the World*; *and ſo the Good of Mankind, or the greateſt part of it, layeth a more Sacred Obligation upon us, and is to be preferred to the particular Intereſt of our own Prince and Country.* The Security of Religion is a Duty never to be forgotten by good Proteſtants, and is never to be endangered and deſperately hazarded by honeſt Men. But, alas! this hath been little regarded by our *late Reformers.* Have they not quite *unhinged* our Conſtitution, of which the Proteſtant Religion was become a part? Have they not already, and are they not in a fair way to *ruine* our Laws and Liberties, which are the beſt *Fences* about our Religion? After we are become *Slaves*, we may quickly be made any thing elſe; the multitude of new Converts in *France*, is an undeniable Inſtance of this. Have they not *unneceſſarily* expoſed the Proteſtant Religion, to the hazard of a rude and uncertain War; from the commencement of which, we can form no great hopes of a Succeſsful Iſſue, and that in Conjunction with *Allies*, who are the greateſt *Enemies* of our Religion; who when their particular Intereſts have been ſerved by our Blood and Treaſure, will certainly give us the ſlip, and nick ſome Opportunity, which our preſent Circumſtances can never fail to furniſh them with, of *Eſtabliſhing* themſelves at the Expence of our Religious and Civil Rights and Liberties? And finally, have we not dethroned our King, upon the account of his Religion; by which we have commenced a *religious* War, which may come to be fatally *retorted* upon us, and may endanger the whole Proteſtant Religion in *Europe*.

A religious War is carefully to be avoided by Proteſtants, ſince they are the weakeſt; and no Pretence ought to be furniſhed to the Catholicks for the like Meaſure: For thô particular Animoſities and Intereſt ſeem to divide them at preſent, how quickly may theſe be adjuſted by the Neceſſities of one of the contending Parties, and how eaſie will it be then for the Pope to unite them together under the Banners of Religion, to give us, and the Proteſtants of *Europe*, a *Rowland* for our *Oliver*? This is no *Chimera* or Dream; but we may probably expect to ſee and feel it. A far weaker Pretence, *viz.* the Union eſtabliſhed amongſt the Proteſtants of *Germany*, at *Leipſick* and *Smalcald*, gave Birth to the Catholick League there; which over-run all the Proteſtants, forced ſeveral Princes and Cities from their Communion, and endangered *Denmark*. It is upon ſuch weighty Conſiderations, and to prevent the danger which threatens the Proteſtant Religion both at home and abroad, from our late Meaſures, that all true *Engliſhmen* and good Proteſtants ought to endeavour the Reſtauration of our King.

As to the Caution given us to beware how we ſacrifice the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in *Europe*; the greateſt part of the Princes and States of *Europe* are not engaged in this War againſt *France*, and conſequently in no danger by it: The two Northern Crowns, *Moſcovy* and *Poland*, *Portugal*, all the Princes and States of *Italy*, except *Savoy*, together with the *Switzers*, are in perfect Peace with *France*; and ſo the Suppoſition of this Author is abſolutely falſe; the Original and Ground of this War is purely private Conteſts betwixt the Crown of *France* and Houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſuch other Princes as that Houſe can draw into their Intereſt. Do we not ſee that the Princes of *Germany* themſelves, who ſeem to have the moſt immediate Concern in it, and ſhould underſtand and be more alarmed at the Conſequences of it than we, do but make *Merchandiſe* of their Aſſiſtance, and engage in and withdraw from this War, as it contributes moſt to their particular Intereſts, and according as they are beſt paid by the ſeveral Principals? Do not the Northern Crowns, whoſe Territories and Provinces lie more expoſed to the Conſequences of this War than our Iſlands, maintain an exact Neutrality, which will give their Subjects Poſſeſſion of the beſt part of the Trade of *Europe*? We are the only Fools who have been prevailed upon to engage inconſiderately in this War, to be at the greateſt Charge of it, to drein our Blood and Treaſure, and to hazard our Religion and Liberties by it, without ſo much as propoſing any Return to ballance this Expence and Danger. *Our Conduct is ſuch an Inſtance of Folly and Madneſs, as amazeth the preſent, and will not find Credit in future Ages.*

As to the Maxim eſtabliſhed by the Author, upon which he builderh all his fine Reaſoning, it is falſe and *Phanatical* to perfection. Can any Man in his right Wits aſſert That the Intereſt of our Prince and Country muſt

give place to the Intereſts of other States, ſuppoſe them to be the greateſt part of Mankind? Much leſs then to thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is the preſent Caſe. Muſt the Intereſt of the *Britiſh* Monarchy be poſtponed to the Intereſt of the *Mahometan* and *Pagan* Countries, which make the greateſt part of Mankind: Or muſt the Intereſt of *Britain*, and ſo of the *Proteſtant* Religion, which makes a part of it, give way to the Intereſt of the *Pope* and *Catholick* Princes, which make the greateſt part of *Europe*? We may quickly gueſs what our Fate would be by following ſuch a Rule, and may eaſily be perſuaded that the Cauſe muſt be very bad, which requires ſuch wretched Maxims and Reaſonings to ſupport it.

The laſt Queſtion is, *Whether we would think our ſelves bound to fight for him, did we believe he would promote the ſame Deſigns he did before; and what we would think our ſelves obliged to do in the like caſe, and under the ſame Circumſtances, after he had remounted the Throne.* The Anſwer is plain and obvious: By this Revolution, and the Conſequences of it, the Prince of *Orange*'s Ambition, and ſhare in theſe Meaſures with which K. *James* was loaded, being ſufficiently diſcovered to the World; together with the Roguery of thoſe Miniſters, who to ſerve the Prince's Deſign forced the King unwillingly enough upon thoſe Steps which we complained of, with a deſign to ruine him; by the *Reſtauration*, and *Puniſhment of thoſe Miniſters*, the *King* and *People* both will be ſafe from any repeated Aſſaults of the Prince's Ambition, being ſo well cautioned by the firſt; and ſucceeding Miniſters will be terrified from ſuch Infidelities for the future. The Author ſuppoſeth a Caſe which will not probably fall out, and ſo is not weighty enough to reſtrain us from aſſiſting our King in the recovery of his Rights, which poſitive Duty obligeth us unto: And whenever the like Caſe occurs, ſuch corrupt Miniſters, who adviſe ſuch Meaſures, will become a more juſtifiable and eaſier Sacrifice, for the averting ſuch Dangers, than our antient Government and Conſtitution. And it is pleaſant enough to imagine that wiſe and thinking Men can be impoſed upon to continue under much more weighty Oppreſſions, greater and more viſible Dangers, threatning both *Religion* and *Liberty*, by K. *William*'s Government, from a fear we may again fall under thoſe leſſer Evils which we ſuffered under K. *James*, and which were due rather to the Contrivances of the *P.* of *O.* than the King's own depraved Inclinations. And whereas it is complained, *That ſuch Pangs of Loyalty are unſeaſonable now, and ſhould rather have been employed for keeping him in his Throne, than reſtoring him to it*; why, truly few People did ſuſpect that the Prince did really deſign what he ſo ſeriouſly and ſolemnly declared againſt; and every Man was ſtruck into a State Lethargy by the ſuddenneſs of the Prince's Attempt, the wonderful Succeſs it met with in the beginning, and the charming Wheedle

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of ſecuring Liberty and Property; which we are ſadly and ſeverely *rowzed* from at laſt, by *unſpeakable* Oppreſſions, by the *expiring* Groans of Liberty and Property, and by the dreadful View of thoſe Miſeries, which *threaten* us from all hands and in all Events.

As to the Obligations we lie under from the Oaths of Allegiance to the preſent Government, the Author himſelf acknowlegeth, *That if we be convinced that our Oaths to King* James *are ſtill binding upon us, the Obligation of the ſecond is voided by it*, which is a plain enough Anſwer to his own Argument; eſpecially when we conſider, that K. *William's* manifeſt Infractions of that *Original Contract* which we made with him, upon the maintaining and preſerving of which our Allegiance was expreſly founded, do evidently and unanſwerably diſſolve and make void the Obligation of our Oaths, and much better ſolves all Scruples upon that head, than Dr. *Sherlock's Providential Reaſoning*. And whereas it is aſſerted by this Author, That Allegiance can never be expounded to a lower Senſe, than to live peaceably under the preſent Government, thô we will not fight for it; and not to attempt any thing againſt their Perſons or Crowns, not to hold Correſpondence with their Enemies, nor to give any aſſiſtance to K. *James* for the recovery of his Thrones; in this he hath forgotten their own Practiſe: For our *Reformers* have taught us, That Allegiance may be expounded to a much lowet Senſe, even to the *Abdicating* the Monarch to whom the Allegiance was due, to the filling of his Throne, and transferring of that Allegiance to another; and would take it very ill to be charged with Perjury for it. *Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione loquentes?*

We are exhorted by our Authors to beware of contributing towards King *James's* return, *Leſt we engage our Countrey in a Civil War, and all the dreadful Conſequences of it.* The Deſtruction of our People, the utter Conſumption of our Eſtates, the burning of our Houſes, the Raviſhing of our Wives and Daughters, the Extirpation of Families by Sword or Halter, and the utter Ruining our Cities, Towns and Villages, are the infallible Conſequences of it. The mighty deluge of Blood which was ſhed, and the unſpeakable Miſeries which overwhelm'd this Nation, during the ſtruggle betwixt the *Two Roſes*, and our Conteſts with King *Charles* I. are undeniable Proofs, and may convince us how fatal and deſtructive it is to beget and eſtabliſh a *Competition* of Titles to the Crown, and to *dethrone* Monarchs: And the Calamities which over-run *France* and *Germany* by the Civil Wars, which begun upon the Account of Religion, may let us ſee how diſpleaſing it is to God Almighty, to have Religion made a cover for ambitious and private Deſigns. This Civil War is already Commenced, and we have eſtabliſhed thoſe Grounds and ſowen that Seed, from which we ſhall not fail to reap a plentiful Harveſt of Blood and Ruine, without a ſpeedy

and vigorous Prevention: Nay we have been ſo fond of entailing certain Miſery upon our Selves and Poſterities, that we have coupled together two of the ſtrongeſt Motives in the World for a rude and laſting War; *viz.* repeated Breaches in the Royal Line and Succeſſion, and the vacating the Throne upon the pretence of Religion; either of which ſeperately hath never failed to ruine whole Nations, Provinces and Cities. It is obvious at whoſe Door this is to be Charged; they who *forced* away their King, upon the account of his Religion, *inverted* the Nature of our Monarchy and the Succeſſion, and *refuſed* all Treaties and Securities which were offered them, have *laid* infallible Foundations for thoſe Miſchiefs; and they who wiſh and labour for the return of the King, are the only true and skilful *Phyſitians* who clearly diſcover, and are willing to apply the moſt proper, nay only Cure, which remains for our Diſeaſe: And the Authors Reaſonings from the Miſeries of a Civil War, do evidently *Arraign* their own Practiſes; and *concludes* moſt forcibly againſt themſelves as the Promoters of it, ſince it is not to be ſuppoſed, that a juſt Right and Title is to *give place* to Force and Uſurpation, and fall a *Sacrifice* to thoſe Neceſſities which we firſt *bring* our ſelves under, and then *plead* for our Excuſe.

In the laſt place we are cautioned againſt the King's return, *From the intolerable Payments we muſt come under, for refunding thoſe Sums which he hath borrowed of* France, *to maintain Himſelf, to keep* Ireland, *and to diſcharge the Forces that come to thruſt Him on us; which will prove a Ten times greater Tax for many Years, than thoſe we pay for the ſupport of this Government, which are not conſiderable, reckoning the abatement of Chimney-Money; and are much eaſier than what the French are accuſtomed to; and that we have paid as much formerly for aſſiſting* France *to ruin* Europe, *and maintain Vice at home; and ſo may be very well ſatisfied with our preſent Payments which deliver* Europe, *and ſecure our native Countrey and Religion from utter Deſtruction.* Our celebrated Authors could not have finiſhed their fine Pieces with Reaſonings, which more perfectly reſembled the Pretences, Motives, and Grounds of this Revolution, by their Weakneſs, Falſhood, and Prevarications.

How well our preſent Payments ſecure our native Countrey and Religion from Deſtruction, may appear from the ruine of *Ireland*, the Plunderings and free Quarters practiſed in *Britain*, the Breaches made upon our ancient *Monarchy* and *Conſtitution*, whereby a War is entailed upon *Us* and our *Poſterity*; from the Violences done to our *Laws*, *Rights* and *Liberties*, and *Original Contract* made with *K. William*; and from the preſent viſible and eminent Dangers which our *Religion* and *Liberties* are threatned with, by any probable Iſſue of this War, under a Prince, who hath quite overturned the Li-

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berties of his own native Countrey, made fair advances towards the ruine of ours; and was never yet Successful in any Enterprise he undertook, except when he invaded his Father in Law, contrary to all Divine and Humane Rules, (which perhaps God designed as a Scourge to these Nations for our Sins,) and when he fought *Luxemburgh*'s Outguards, at St. *Denis*, with the Peace in his Pocket, contrary to the publick Faith and Law of Nations, as if he were *Predestinated* to be Successful only in Crimes, but unfortunate in heroick, brave, and generous Actions; such as restraining the ambitious Encroachments of Princes, and vindicating the Rights and Liberties of oppressed Nations; *Having always Practised in his own Case, what he pretended to reform in another's.*

How little the Deliverance of *Europe* is carried on by our present Payments, is but too evident from the growing Successes of *France* in *Flanders*, and the taking their most considerable Towns and Fortresses in the sight and under the nose of our *present Monarch* and those mighty *Confederate Armies*. It is equally false, to insinuate, That our Payments during King *Charles* the Second's Reign bore any proportion with the Taxes under this; and that they were employed only for assisting *France*, to ruine *Europe*: For the Subsidies we have already paid to this K. (which Sir *Edward Seymor*, who might very well know it, assured the House of Commons, did amount to 18 Millions, before the last Impositions which were granted) do far exceed all the Taxes paid to K *Charles*, joyn'd with the several Payments made to our *Edwards*, our *Henries*, and our *Elizabeth*, who raised the Honour and Reputation of this Nation so high, and spread our Conquests so far: And it was to King *Charles* his Authority and Mediation, the Peaces of *Aix-la-Chapelle* and *Nimiguen* were due, which put then a Stop to the *French* Carreer: And I am afraid our present Payments will very hardly bring about a Peace upon the Foot of those Treaties; and we are to take it as a very great Favour, for which we are to be thankful to God and our present King, if the Taxes we pay during this Government, fall any thing short of the *French* Oppressions; and Four Millions a Year, over and above an Allowance for the Abatement of *Chimney-Money* and the ordinary Revenues of the Crown, are but inconsiderable Payments in the opinion of these Authors. It seems their Court Preferments are great and rich, that they are so little sensible of those Taxes, which are already become so heavy to this Nation, and of which we see no end.

But *the growing Debt to the French King for those Sums already spent upon K.* James's *Subsistance, and the defence of* Ireland, *and to be farther Expended for his Restauration, will quite sink and undo this Nation.* It appears that these Authors take it for granted, That the mercenary Temper of the Dutch, in demanding and obtaining Satisfaction for their Expences, which out of

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a tender regard forſooth to our Liberties they beſtowed upon our Deliverance, will be exactly copied by other Princes: But this is the firſt Inſtance of ſuch Merchandiſe; and it is not to be believed, that great Princes who ſtudy Fame, and tenderly regard their Honor and Glory, will imitate ſo *baſe* an Example. But ſuppoſe they ſhould; our Author is as wide in his Eſtimate of this Expence, as in his other Reaſonings. We are frightned with a Charge Ten times bigger, for many Years, than our preſent Payments, and yet will very much fall ſhort of the half of one Years Tax we pay now. The Sums ſpent upon the King's Subſiſtence and *Ireland*, do not amount to Three hundred thouſand *Luidores*; and as for the Charge of his return I wiſh, and heartily pray, that all true Engliſh Men would unanimouſly concur together, to prevent the pretence of demanding any ſuch Charges, the neceſſity of Foreign Troops, and even the remoteſt Fears of French *Popery* and *Slavery*, by returning our King with as *general* a Conſent as he was forced from us; which will vindicate the Proteſtant Religion from the *reproach* of Depoſing Principles, and *eſtabliſh* it for the future; will *reſettle* the ancient Monarchy, and Conſtitution of this Nation upon its old *Baſis*; will *repair* the Injury done to our lawful King, whereby we may legally *obtain* thoſe Securities for our Religion and Liberties, which we are *Courting unſucceſsfully* amidſt ſo many deſperate Dangers and Difficulties; will infallibly *relieve* us from the weighty Oppreſſions and manifeſt Infractions of our choiceſt and moſt valuable Rights, which we at preſent *feel*, and have ſo much reaſon to be *apprehenſive* of for the future; will *deliver* us from the heavy Burthen of ſo many Taxes, which we have already paid, and which yet muſt be continued if we deſign to *ſupport* a crazy and unjuſt Settlement any longer; which, after all our Blood and Expence muſt certainly *fall* to the ground, and give place to the *natural* Force and Weight of our ancient Government and Monarchy; to the juſt *Title* and undoubted *Rights* of our lawful Sovereign and his Poſterity; to the Love, Affections, and natural Inclinations of *Engliſh* Men when the preſent *fit* is over; and to the *Intereſts* of our Neighbouring Princes and States, which lie viſibly *croſs* unto it, ſo ſoon as their preſent Differences are at an end: And laſtly, by this Method we ſhall be *ſecured* againſt thoſe fatal Influences upon our Liberties, which never fail to *accompany* all forced, irreſiſtable, and unexpected returns of *Exiled* Monarchs.

I do humbly beſeech Almighty God, That of his Infinite Mercy, for the good of theſe Nations and of all *Europe*, he would open the Prince of *Orange*'s Eyes, give him a ſight and diſcovery of the Vanity as well as Injuſtice of poſſeſſing his Father's Throne; and incline his Heart to eſtabliſh Religion and Liberty among us,

us, and give Peace to all *Europe*, by doing an Act which would bury in Oblivion the famed Inſtances of *Dioclesian* and *Charles* V. and immortalize his Name, even by reſtoring his old Father to his Right and Inheritance. Was it really the Danger our Religion and Liberties were in which put him upon coming to *Britain*, this would be an infallible way fully to ſecure them by new Laws and Conceſſions, againſt which there lay no Objection: Or was it to put himſelf at the head of the *Britiſh* Forces, thereby to give a Check to the towring Ambition of the *French* Monarch, this would more effectually do it; for either that King would think himſelf obliged, out of Gratitude to a Prince who is truly a Martyr for a ſuppoſed *French* League, to give a reaſonable Peace to *Europe*, in order to King *James*'s Reſtauration; or by a Refuſal, our King was at Liberty to conſult his own Intereſt, and to unite with the Confederates by the Advice of Parliament; which would make ſuch a general and vigorous Application of the *Engliſh* Forces that way, without any fear of Domeſtick Diſtraction, as would quickly oblige that great Monarch to give ear to Reaſon, and a Peace to his Neighbours: And the Glory of having given Peace to *Europe*, and ſubdued himſelf, would place the Prince of *Orange*'s Name upon the higheſt Pinnacles of Fame, furniſh the greateſt *Character* imaginable for Hiſtory, give a great and noble *Example* to future Ages, declare him the *Benefactor* of the Chriſtian World, and oblige all *Britiſh* Subjects to *acknowlege, That he had moſt generouſly contributed his beſt Endeavours for the ſecuring of the Proteſtant Religion, and the free Enjoyment of all our Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government*, according to his *own Declaration*.

FINIS.

GREAT BRITAIN's
JUST COMPLAINT
FOR HER

Late *Measures*, Present *Sufferings*,
And the Future *Miseries* She is exposed to.

With the Best, Safest, and most Effectual WAY
of Securing and Establishing Her

Religion, Government,
Liberty & Property,
Upon Good and Lasting Foundations.

Fully and Clearly Discovered,

In ANSWER
To Two Late Pamphlets, concerning the
Pretended French Invasion.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

OXFORD, Printed in the Year M. DC. XCII.

GREAT BRITAIN's
JUST COMPLAINT
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Late *Meaſures*, Preſent *Sufferings*, And the Future *Miſeries* She is expoſed to.

THE laſt great Revolution in *Britain* (which doth ſo much exerciſe the Heads, Hands, Purſes and Pens, of the Inhabitants of this Iſland) is not to be paralell'd by any inſtance from ancient or modern Hiſtory. When we have ranſack'd the Annals of all the Nations of *Europe*, and travell'd as far as the *Indies* to find an Example, we ſhall at laſt be forced to acknowledge, after all Circumſtances are exactly weighed, That we have been blindly following the Dictates of our own perſonal Prejudices and intoxicated Judgments, rather than tracing the Footſteps of our Predeceſſors, or of the moſt zealous Aſſertors of publick Liberties in other Nations. I do not deny, that in every Province and Kingdom of the Univerſe we may find Inſtances where Subjects have been at laſt neceſſitated by force of Arms to ſecure themſelves, their Religion and Liberties, againſt ſuch violent and repeated Acts of Tyranny in their Princes, as did viſibly endanger the Frame of the Government it ſelf, as well as the Safety of every Individual: And many Princes have loſt their Crowns by a tract of Cruelties and Exorbitances in Government, and an incorrigible Obſtinacy and Deafneſs to all the humble Petitions and repeated Complaints of their Subjects.

But we ſcorned to be confined within ſuch antient Rules, to be regulated by the Practices of our Forefathers, or to be taught at the Expence or by the Experience of others. We have walked without Guides, amidſt dark and dangerous Precipices: Our Fears have over-run our Reaſon; we have taken Things upon Truſt, without ſearching them to the bot-

tom; and we have been impoſed upon, *By the cunning and artificial Diſguiſes of ſelf-deſigning and ambitious Men*, to overlook a moſt infallible way of ſecuring Liberty and Property to all future Ages; which the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, and the hard Circumſtances *of our own King*, had put into our Hands. We have vacated a Throne, for the pretended Deſertion of a Prince, violently forced away by a ſurprizing Defection of his Children, Servants, Subjects and Soldiers; and under the terror of dangers threatning his Life and Liberty. We have juſtified this Severity, by enumerating Miſcarriages in Government; which, though Errors and Miſtakes, were very far from overturning Foundations; and which the King was put upon by the artifice and cunning of his Son in Law, who was graſping at his Crown: And we have obſtinately refuſed all Treaties, when offered; whereby Grievances might have been redreſſed, and provided againſt for the future; and we have ventured upon ſuch Steps as have no Precedent, and furniſhed an Example for Hiſtory, which will be found too deſperate and expenſive for imitation.

Yet ſo far hath this Poyſon ſpread and diffuſed it ſelf, that though the pretended Reaſons of our Proceedings appear at laſt *to be empty, falſe and forged*; though the principal Actors are aſhamed of their former grounds, and love the ſound of *Conqueſt* better than that of a *Deliverance*, and are countenanced in it by the *Practices* as well as *Inclination* and *Maxims* of our *preſent Monarch*; there are ſome People who would gladly continue the Cheat, and amuſe us ſtill with a Hodge-podge of *Right of Succeſſion*, *Election*, and *Conqueſt*, and the lofty and agreeable ſound of *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property*; which appear to be as little the care as they were the deſign of our *principal Reformers*.

Hence it is, That we have of late been entertained with two famous Pamphlets, the one entituled *The pretentions of the French Invaſion examined*; Licenſed, or rather written, by the E. of *Nottingham*: The other is *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invaſion*; which muſt be the Off-ſpring of a Perſon of equal Quality with the former, ſince his Character ſtamps it legitimate, without a Licenſe. Theſe two Pieces do not in the leaſt anſwer the Figure which the Authors, who are aſſign'd them, make in the World. For all along, they falſifie, diſguiſe, or abſolutely conceal Matter of Fact; they labour to impoſe Falſhoods for Truths, and their baſe Alloy as good Coin upon us: They advance Poſitions for undoubted Maxims, which have been controverted all the World over; and upon this Sandy Foundation they raiſe their Buildings; and their Reaſonings are either falſe, ſophiſticated, or moſt concluſive on the other ſide.

To make good this Charge, and to acquit my ſelf of the Duty I owe my Country and fellow Subjects, in contributing my Mite towards the rectifying their Judgments in ſuch a nice and important Affair, wherein our

own Peace and Happineſs, as well as that of our Poſterity, is ſo much wrapt up. I ſhall endeavour to make a full and diſtinct Anſwer to theſe two Pamphlets, by a true unbyaſſed and impartial Deduction of Matter of Fact; by ſetting out the publick Councils, Deſigns, and Conduct of particular Perſons, in their true Light, without thoſe Diſguiſes which were Artfully thrown over them; and by their own Reaſons and Maxims, concluding a great deal more forcibly againſt themſelves: And to deal fairly by them, I ſhall confine my ſelf to thoſe very Arguments, which are aſſigned by the Author of *The French Invaſion examined*, as the Motives upon which the Reſtauration of King *James* is deſired and endeavoured; *viz. The repairing the Injury done to the King, the ſettling the Government upon its old Baſis, the delivering us from the Oppreſſions we ſuffer under the preſent King, and the ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion for the future.*

There is no Engliſh-man but muſt allow theſe Conſiderations to be grave, weighty and important; and if as true as conſiderable, ſufficiently concluſive and perſuaſive for a ſpeedy Reſtauration. I will then enter upon a particular Enquiry; and I do not deſpair, before I have done, to eſtabliſh the Truth, as well as the Importance of thoſe Reaſons, againſt the Cavils of thoſe Authors. I joyn them together, becauſe their Reaſonings are much the ſame, equally levelled againſt the aforeſaid Motives, and muſt ſtand or fall together.

As to the firſt Motive *Of the repairing the Injury done to King* James: If it can be made appear, That he was unjuſtly, upon falſe Pretences, deprived of his Birth-right by his Subjects, who by Nature and Oaths were bound to defend him in it; then muſt it be acknowleged a Duty, by all, as well as thoſe Authors, to repair that Injury done him, *by reſtoring him to his Right again.* I ſhall apply my ſelf particularly to the clearing of the Injuſtice done him, ſince upon that a great part of the Controverſie depends, and moſt of the Reaſons aſſigned by theſe Authors againſt his Reſtauration will fall to the ground. In doing of which, I muſt look higher than the beginning of King *James*'s Reign; the early and unnatural Ambition of the P. of *Orange*, as well as the neceſſary connection and ſeries of Affairs, oblige me unto it.

It was not *The Danger which our Religion and Liberties were threatned with, from the Deſigns and bad Adminiſtration of King* James, *and a tender Regard to the* Britiſh *Subjects, for their Love and Reſpect to his deareſt Conſort and Himſelf, with the Intereſt which his Birth and Marriage gave him in us,* firſt induced the Prince of *Orange* to look towards theſe Kingdoms and our Affairs. The late King *Charles* (notwithſtanding all the Tenderneſs he had diſcovered for that Prince's Education, and Care for his Intereſts, in eſpouſing them ſo vigorouſly upon all occaſions againſt the States of *Holland*, who would gladly have ſecu-

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red themſelves, by depreſſing him and his Family, againſt thoſe prophetick Fears they lay under, for their Beloved Rights and Liberties) was the firſt that felt the Effects of his Nephew's *towring* and *boundleſs* Ambition. No ſooner did the Prince of *Orange* find himſelf reinſtated, by the Authority and Intereſt of his Uncle, in the Poſts of Grandure poſſeſſed by his Father and Predeceſſors, and ſo put into a Condition to appear upon the Stage, and mingle in the greateſt Affairs of *Europe*, but he gave looſe Reins to his Ambition, to range where-ever it could perch and fix; without being reſtrained or frightned by thoſe common Rules or Barriers, which Morality and Religion had placed as Spoaks too mean in his Opinion to ſtop the Careere of a *bold* and *daring Spirit*.

Britain was the Place he fixed his Eye upon; neither could Relation, nor Gratitude, place any rubs in his way. The peaceable Temper of that Monarch, addicted to his Pleaſures, and his being without Children, the Religion of his Brother, and want of Male Iſſue, together with his own Allyance with the Royal Blood, and ſome Diſcontents of the People, which were begotten and heightned by the Addreſs and Malice of a few Grandees, promiſed him a plentiful Harveſt in return to his *Cabals* and *Cajoling Inſinuations*; upon which thoſe Grandees were applied unto; and as quick and hearty returns made by them, with aſſurance of Zeal, Dependance and Fidelity, being glad of ſo conſiderable a Support. Hence ſprang all thoſe *fatal Diviſions* which ſo long time exerciſed that *Prince*, his *Councils*, and *Parliaments*.

To ſpirit this Party in *England*, and to fix himſelf one Degree nearer the Crown, which he ſo much long'd for, the Prince made his Addreſſes, and was Married to the Lady *Mary*, much againſt the inclination both of the King and Duke, who did very well foreſee the Conſequence, and were afraid of ſo near a Conjunction with ſo reſtleſs a Spirit. But it is well known who diſpoſed the King to agree to the Match; for which, and other good Services then in *betraying his Maſter*, he is well rewarded now, rather than for any Merits he had to plead upon this Revolution.

After this Match, our Diviſions and Diſcontents paſt all Bounds; nothing leſs than the interruption of the Royal Line, by a Bill of Excluſion, would ſatisfy. I know the danger of our Religion, from a *Popiſh Succeſſour*, was pretended; but the Prince of *Orange*'s immediate Succeſſion to the Crown, in the Right of his Princeſs, was the thing truly intended by the Prince's Agents, and Privadoes: Nothing elſe, but ſuch a hidden ſecret Deſign, could have inclined ſo many Men of Senſe and Reaſon, to refuſe the great Conceſſions were offered 'em; which without Danger, or the bad Conſequences of neglecting a juſt Title, did equally ſecure Religion and Liberty. To this Project were Sacrificed all thoſe great and mighty Securities, which K. *Charles* would willingly

willingly have Granted in favour of our Religion and Liberties, to be rid of that troubleſome Biſl of Excluſion; and thus we loſt the greateſt, and beſt Eſtabliſhment we ever had in our view; and which would legally, peaceably and willingly, have been ſetled upon us, without any farther trouble, danger, or expence: *So early did this Prince's Ambition become fatal to our Liberties and Properties.*

Hence ſprang all thoſe Councils and Meaſures, which did ſo much Diſcontent the People; and put that King upon the *Quo Warranto* Project, thereby to temper and qualifie Parliaments, which the *Cabals* and *Machinations* of the *Prince* had render'd ſo warm and uneaſie to him. Hence ſprang that Ferment, and thoſe bad Humors, which gave Life and Motion to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion and Pretences, who all along had been made a Stale by ſome; though the Prince lay cloſe at the bottom, and ſeemed to favour the Man; until at laſt he perceived that the Duke did in earneſt catch at that he ſo much longed for himſelf. With what regret, yea indignation, muſt every Engliſh Breaſt be filled upon a review of that bleſſed occaſion we loſt, which might have prevented our preſent Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and all thoſe Fears and Miſeries we are now groaning under, and know not when we ſhall be at an end of? It is with unſpeakable Grief I am obliged to remember ſo great a Loſs; nor do I mention any thing, but what is very well Known for a Truth to ſome Perſons yet alive, and which I have ſeen clearly verified by ſome *convincing Diſpatches* which are yet extant, and which ſhall be carefully preſerved until they may be with ſafety produced. Doth not Sir *Will. Temple*, in his *Memoirs*, Licenſed and Publiſhed of late, acknowledge the greateſt part of what is here aſſerted? As if, in this reforming Age, People were to make their Court by publiſhing of Services, for which their Poſterity may have reaſon to curſe their Aſhes. Thus we ſee what fatal Influences the Prince of *Orange's* Ambition had ſcattered upon our Councils and Meaſures, during the latter end of K. *Charles* his Reign: Neither will he be found leſs active and ſucceſsful, by himſelf and Agents, during K. *James*'s Adminiſtration, as will appear from a particular Enquiry into the pretended *Abdication*.

This ſtrange and myſterious Word, which to this day is not well underſtood, neither can be explained, nor rightly fitted to what was intended by it, either by the Authors of it, or by any body elſe, was firſt made uſe of in the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſome Ages ago; and begot that fatal Struggle between the *Anjouin* and *Arragonian* Factions, which at laſt quite ruin'd that flouriſhing Kingdom, and brought it under a foreign Yoke, under which it continues to this day. I ſhall not criticize upon it, nor examin how improperly it is applied in the Caſe of King *James*, (though that be obvious enough to any Man who underſtands the Civil Law, or the proper and genuine ſignification of the

the Word) but shall only enquire into the Subject Matter, which according to the Sense of our Reformers, amounted to *Abdication* and a *Vacancy*; and that is King *James*'s *Desertion* and *Invasion* of the Fundamental Laws and Liberties of *England*.

As to the first, How properly his being forced away may be called a *Desertion*, will best appear from a true Narrative of Matter of Fact; which I shall give the Reader. And though it may contain several things which are not generally known, and yet contribute exceedingly to the clearing of this point; I shall deliver nothing but Truths, which can be made evident, either by *Letters*, or *Evidence* above all Exception. No sooner was the Prince of *Orange* landed, but it quickly appeared to the World how strangely successful his Agents had been in their Negotiations. The Poyson was universally spread, and the Pretences of his *Declaration* greedily swallowed down without Examination; though I shall make it appear, before I have done, That it was partly forged, and nothing of it ever intended to be performed. There was nothing sound or untainted in the whole Kingdom: His Children run away from him; the Clergy juggle with him; his domestick and menial Servants betray him; his Subjects flock in to the Pr. of *Orange*; his Army desert; and the very Creatures which he had raised from the Dust form Designs to deliver up his Person.

Was not this a Scene, the most wonderful and astonishing that was ever presented upon the Stage of humane Affairs? What ground had the King to think that his Person could be with any manner of Safety, amongst a People who had thrown off all Ties and Duties which could rationally be depended upon in the like case? When that natural Affection which was due from Children to their Parents was quite forgotten; when the Love, Respect, Service, and Gratitude, which is due from Servants to their Master and Benefactor, was entirely thrown off, and unheard of Treachery cherished in their places? When that Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Prince was debauched, and running into another Channel? When that Fidelity, which was due from Soldiers, (both as Subjects, and Men who make a particular Profession of Honour,) to their Prince, General and Nursing Father, was so generally corrupted, that he was advertised by his General Officers, *That the Army was quite poysoned, and would not fight*? When his own Ministers and Counsellors were in Pay and Correspondence with the Invader, and pushing him into Councils and Measures, which might encrease the present Ferment, and facilitate the Prince's Designs? What hopes of Accommodation, or Assurance of Safety, could remain, without renouncing all Reason, Sense, and Discretion? Especially if we consider that as soon as the Account came that *Oxford*'s, and St. *Alban*'s Regiments of Horse commanded by *Langston*, and *Cornbury*, and *Heyford* with their Dragoons,

were

were deserted and gone in to the Prince, he called his General Officers and Colonels together at *London*; amongst which were *Churchil*, *Kirk*, *Trelauny*, *Grafton*, and others; and acquainted them, that he had called a free Parliament, that he was resolved to secure Religion, Liberty and Property, at their Sitting. He Entreated these Officers to let him know if there was any thing farther which they desired for the Security of their Religion and Liberties, and he would most willingly grant it; and withal desired, That if there was any amongst them who could not be satisfied, to let him know it, and he would frankly grant them Passes for themselves and Equipage, to go in to the Prince. Upon which they all answer'd chearfully and unanimously *That they were fully satisfied, and would hazard their Blood, to the last drop, in his Service:* And yet how basely and ungratefully some of them afterwards dealt by him, is too well known, and was enough to give that Prince just Jealousies of his own Safety amongst Men so lost as to all sense of Honour and Integrity.

And yet so loath was this Monarch to part from a People who had forsaken him first, though surrounded with Fears and Distractions, under which any other Person would have sunck, that he made Offers of a Treaty; which the Prince accepted, not that he designed to come to any Settlement upon it, but because he durst not unmask himself so far as to refuse it; and was in hopes to find some Pretext or other to break it off. Upon this, the Commissioners met on both sides; but with little Inclination, on the Prince's part, to come to an Accommodation, which would have bereaved him of that *sweet Morsel* he had been so long labouring for; Nay, he discovered so firm a Resolution to attain his ends, without scrupling any thing, how severe soever, which could compass them; that those noble Lords, who were empower'd by the King to treat for him, did acquaint his Majesty with the insuperable Difficulties they met with in their Negotiation; and that they thought themselves bound in Duty to let him know that his Person was not in Safety under the *Power* of a Prince, who by the haughty and rigid Conditions he proposed, or rather imposed, and his still marching on, notwithstanding the Treaty, did visibly enough discover some farther *hidden Design*. This must certainly be thought Warning enough from Persons who were even then leaning to the strongest side, and so would not have hazarded such Advice, unless forced to it by Truth and Horror of the Design; or put upon it by the Prince himself, to frighten the King away, who was sensible his Stay did check his Designs, and so was resolved to be rid of his Person some way or other.

Upon this, the King thought fit to withdraw; and afterwards sent the E. of *Feversham*, from that place, with such ample Concessions, and such real Discoveries of a sincere Intention to satisfie his People to the full, that the Prince was extreamly

alarmed upon it, and did plainly ſee the miſcarriage and ruin of all his Deſigns, if *Feverſham*'s Meſſage ſhould be imparted to the Engliſh who were about him; for though there were ſome, who upon all occaſions were forward enough to adviſe the utmoſt Severities againſt the King's Perſon, yet by far the greateſt part for Number, Intereſt and Quality, were at the bottom for an Accommodation with the King, which would have ſetled and bettered the Nation; but at the ſame time would have quite daſhed the Prince's Hopes and Expectations; and therefore ſome bold Stroke muſt be given, *That ſo much Patience, ſo great Labour, and ſo many Crimes might not be loſt*; the Publick Faith muſt be broken, and *Feverſham* muſt be ſecured, without ſo much as acquainting the Perſons of Quality of the Engliſh Nation who were about him with it, though all along he had pretended to act by their Advice. But in ſo nice a Conjunction he was afraid to truſt to their Affection, as knowing very well they would have pry'd more than was fitting, for his Intereſt, into the pretended Cauſe of the Earl's Confinement, and his Meſſage; the Goodneſs of which would certainly have preſerved the publick Faith inviolable in the Earl's Perſon, notwithſtanding the Crime alleged againſt him, and continued the Treaty; whereas by this Method the Meſſage was concealed, the Treaty was quite broken off, and the King would moſt certainly be frightned away. After ſuch a ſeries of Defection amongſt all ſorts of People, after ſuch an Advice ſent by Perſons whom he had truſted with the moſt important Concerns of His Crown and Kingdom, after ſuch an open Breach of the publick Faith, and after ſuch viſible and open Diſcoveries of the Prince's ſecret Deſigns and unlimited Ambition, a Paſſion which never ſcruples to ſacrifice every *Remora* to its Eſtabliſhment; Is there any cool and rational Man will cenſure the King's Conduct in diſbanding that Army, which had for the moſt part made a Defection from him; and in taking care of his Perſon by a ſpeedy Retreat from amongſt ſuch wavering Subjects, dangerous and diſingenuous Enemies? But in farther Evidence of the King's unwillingneſs to part from his People, and of the Prince's fixed and determinate Reſolutions to force him to as great a diſtance as he could, being always jealous of a Reconcilement, which would have quite buried his ambitious Thoughts and Deſigns; I ſhall give the World a particular account of the moſt important Steps taken by either, Relative to their ſeveral Deſigns.

The King, when he came to *London*, ſent a Meſſage to Sir *Thomas Stamp* (late Mayor) and to Sir *Simon Lewis*, two eminent Aldermen of that City; deſiring them to acquaint their Brethren, and others of the Common-Council, That he was reſolved to put himſelf into the hands of the City, there to remain until by a free Parliament he had given

given all Satisfaction to his People, by ſecuring their Religion, Liberties and Properties, to the full; hoping, that in the mean time, they would take care to guard and ſecure his Perſon. The foreſaid Perſons communicated this Meſſage, as they were deſired; but by the influence and intereſt of Sir *Robert Clayton* the offer was refuſed, and the ſecurity of his Perſon would not be aſſured to him. Here is plain demonſtration, both of the King's *Willingneſs* to piece up with his People, and of the *Danger* which threatned his Perſon. When the King came from *Feverſham* to *White hall*, Monſieur *Zuyleſtein* delivered him, at *Somerſet-houſe*, a Letter from the Prince, which was deſigned to have reached him before he came from *Feverſham*; wherein he was Deſired, but in the Style of a Command, not to come any nearer *London* than *Rocheſter*: To which the King very meekly returned an Anſwer, *That he would have complied with the Latter, had it come ſooner to his hands.* Can there be any more doubt, after this, of the Prince's unjuſt and ambitious Deſigns, when he put ſuch a Reſtraint upon a Monarch in his own Dominions, whoſe undoubted Title he had acknowleged, both by his *Declaration* and a *Treaty*? This was a piece of Haughtineſs and Inſolence above all Example, except what his own future Practices have furniſhed us with.

As ſoon as the King came to *White-hall*, he wrote to the Prince, inviting him to St. *James's*, allowing him his own Dutch Guards to ſecure his Perſon, and aſſuring him, That upon their Interview he would fully ſatisfie the intent of his Declaration. But this was no ſatisfaction to the Prince: He had a ſecret and concealed aim at the Crown; and provided he could gain that point, he liked it the better, if Veſted with all the *Power* he ſo much complained of in his *Declaration*: His Conduct ſince hath ſufficiently cleared this to theſe Nations: An Interview, which was ſo much deſired by the King, did not ſuit with this darling Project; he could neither well ask it, nor expect to have it granted. Beſides, he found the Torrent of the Peoples Affections, which had run ſo ſwiftly towards himſelf, was then at a Stand, and in danger to be turned into another Channel, if the King remained at *White-hall*, and at liberty to apply himſelf to the regaining of his Subjects Hearts; which he was ſincerely reſolved to court and acquire at any rate, being free from the bad Influence and Advice of thoſe Miniſters which were in Confederacy with the Prince. Upon all which, it was reſolved that Count *Solmes* ſhould poſſeſs the ſeveral Poſts at *White-hall* with Dutch Guards, and make the *King* a *Priſoner*: And about two a Clock in the Morning he received Orders from the Prince, by the Mouths of three noble Lords, to be gone immediately from his own Palace; and accordingly he was ſent Priſoner to *Rocheſter*, attended by Dutch Guards, and all this performed with unſpeakable Rudeneſs and Indignities done to his Perſon.

He was disturbed at an unseasonable Hour, with a Sentence of *Banishment* from his own *PALACE*, passed upon him by his *Son in Law*, who pretended only to settle and fix his Crown by redressing of Grievances, and that Sentence pronounced unto him by three of his own *Subjects*, who accompanied it with some *unmannerly Severities*, which their *fears of a coarser Treatment*, if he staid, *put them upon*. He was refused his own Guards to attend him, and his own Coach to carry him to *Rochester*, though he declared, That he could not travel by Water in so cold a Season, against Wind and Tide, without greatly endangering his Health. *Good God!* that such *Barbarities* should be practised, and afterwards justified by *Christians*, which *Pagans* and *Infidels* would be ashamed of.

Whilst the King staid at *Rochester*, and during the *Sessions* of those Lords and Commons, who first put the *Administration* of AFFAIRS into the Prince's Hand, and moved for calling of the *Convention*, he sent a Message to the present Bishop of *Winchester*, which he desired might be communicated to the rest of the Bishops; acquainting him with his Resolutions to come either publickly or privately, and put himself into the Hands of my Lords the Bishops, to be under their Protection, until by their Advice he had fully settled and secured every thing in a free *Parliament*. This Message the Bishop of *Winchester* did impart to the rest; and their return to it was, That they could not receive him, either publickly or privately, under their Protection; for in that case they would be responsible for his Safety, and they were not in a Condition to secure him against the Ambition of the Prince, who was resolved to accomplish his Designs, and surrounded with so many Troops to support him in it. After so many *Advertisements* given him of the *Danger* his Person was in, by People who might know it, and whose Testimony was not to be suspected; and those Advertisements fortified and confirmed, by the Prince's strange and unaccountable Carriage, in breaking the publick Treaty, in imprisoning my Lord *Feversham* contrary to the publick Faith, thereby to elude the Effects of his Message, in refusing a personal Treaty, depriving him of his Liberty, putting him under Guards, and in banishing him imperiously and unmannerly from his own Houses. After so many fruitless *Applications* to the *Prince*, to the *City*, and to the *Bishops*, only to be secured as to his *Person*, until by a free *Parliament* he had given full *Satisfaction* to his People; Can there be any Person, who is not become Bankrupt to Common Sense and Reason, who will blame the King for withdrawing, and thereby endeavouring to put himself in Safety? And it is evident, notwithstanding all those ineffectual Applications, he was resolved upon every occasion to court his Subjects to return to their Duty: Witness his Letters addressed to several Members of his *Privy Council*; and also that

Letter

Letter written from St. *Germains*, and designed for the *Convention* of Estates, which they would not so much as receive or read.

I would now gladly know after what manner, and upon what account, in what sense, and for what reason the King can be said to have Deserted. *Desertion*, according to common sense and acceptation, is *a voluntary Neglect and withdrawing his Person, Care and Influences, from attending that Administration*, Protection, *and Exercise of the Government, which is due from him to the People committed to his Charge*, when no FORCE compell'd him, no DANGER threatned him, and the PEOPLE were willing to retain him. Is this applicable to the King's Case? May not the Invading his Dominions with foreign Troops and an armed Power, the Imprisonment of his Person, putting him under Guards of Foreigners, and banishing him from his own Houses, be properly enough called a Force? May not those extraordinary Indignities done him by the Prince, and those Advertisements given him by several Persons of Quality, Knowlege, and Interest, of his hard and difficult Circumstances, be very well called Dangers, according to the common Rules of Prudence and Discretion? With what Sense can the universal Defection of his Children, Servants, Soldiers and Subjects, the rejecting all Treaties, whether Personal or by Proxie, the Refusal of all Applications made by him to the City, Bishops, and Convention of Estates, be understood an unwillingness in his Subjects to part with him, or a voluntary Withdrawing or Neglect on his side? We must renounce common Sense, and quite invert the Nature of Things, before a *Withdrawing so circumstantiated* will pass upon the sober part of Mankind for a *Desertion*.

Besides, it is a Maxim laid down by the Author of the *Pretences of the French Invasion examined*, p. 4. l. 3. and downwards, *That where a King or Queen is submitted to, and owned by Oaths, and other Methods required in such Cases, the King himself is not at Liberty to give up his own* Power, *and consequently cannot* Desert; *much less can the People wrest it from him. A Man hath himself much more Right to lay down that Power which is legally vested in him, than any other person or persons can have to take it from him.* I hope this learned Gentleman will allow us the Benefit of his own Maxims, which we are willing to admit of. It cannot be denied King *James* was submitted unto, and owned by Oaths and all other Methods required in such Cases; and so not at Liberty to give up his own Power, tho never so willing: And consequently this pretended Desertion must march off the Stage, according to the Author's own Rules.

But the Disbanding of the Army, in the Sense of this Author and others, was so illegal a Step, that it must pass for his *dissolving* of the *Government*. Why truly, common Prudence advised the Discarding of an Army which had dealt so treacherously with their Prince and Benefactor:

ctor: And I would gladly know, what Statute this Meaſure of the King's treſpaſſed upon. I challenge the Author to point it out to us. I have heard it alleged, That the King could not raiſe and maintain an Army, without the Conſent of Parliament: But his Power of Disbanding was never yet queſtioned, much leſs made a Crime: If the firſt be juſtifiable, the laſt muſt be much more ſo. From what hath been ſaid, I hope the *Deſertion* is quite ſhut out of doors: The Reaſons produced make unanſwerably againſt it; and the Pamphletteer's own Maxims knock it dead without Mercy; by which the greateſt part of the Author's Pamphlet and Reaſonings falls to the ground, ſince he goeth all along upon the Suppoſition *That the people were ſtill willing to have acknowleged his Rights, and ſecured their own; to have treated and come to an Accommodation with him:* As alſo, *That the Prince never propoſed any thing, but to have Grievances fairly redreſſed*; which was ſtill inſiſted on by the Prince and People in the moſt humble and uſual Methods: *But that the King wilfully deſerted, threw up the Government, refuſed all Treaties, and left them in a perfect Anarchy, to ſhift for themſelves.* The Falſity of all which is already plainly enough demonſtrated; and the *Abdication* muſt halt, having loſt the better half of its Foundation.

I come next to examine the Male-Adminiſtrations, which make up the other part of this Structure; in proſecution of which, I do not intend to play the Advocate, to defend and juſtifie any Breaches made upon the Laws and Liberties of my Country: I am as tender of thoſe great Concerns as any Man can be; I love them as well; I value them as high; and ſhall be always ready to hazard as far for their Eſtabliſhment, as a good Engliſhman, who knows their Worth, ought to do. And perhaps I have given better Evidences of this, than the Authors of theſe Pamphlets can bring for themſelves, notwithſtanding their Fuſtian Words and high Pretences.

But Miſtakes in Government will be ſlipping in under the beſt Reigns; and it is not every Error can furniſh a good Reaſon for ſuch important Revolutions, ſuch general Defections, ſuch deviations from that Duty which is due to Princes from the Obligation of Oaths, the Tyes of Nature, and the Laws of the Land; and for dethroning of Kings, inverting the Nature of the Monarchy, and the interrupting the Royal Line and Succeſſion. Such Alterations have been accompanied in all Ages with ſuch Confuſions, Convulſions, Blood, Ruine and Deſolation; that nothing but the neceſſary Reſcue of the Government it ſelf, and of all the publick and private Rights which are wrapt up in it, from a clear, plain, viſible, undeniable, and otherwiſe unavoidable Ruine and Deſtruction, with a Certainty and Conviction that the Remedy propoſed will prove feaſible and ſucceſsful, without running us into the ſame dangers and difficulties, can furniſh the leaſt ſhadow or pre-

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tence for Experiments which are to be attended with ſuch Dangers, founded upon the Breach of ſo many ſacred Tyes and Obligations, and ſupported with ſuch Expence of Blood and Treaſure.

We ought to be very ſure, That the Errors complained of would certainly have overturned all Foundations, and entirely robbed us of our Rights; That thoſe Errors did certainly ariſe from the natural Diſpoſition of the Prince himſelf, obſtinately and incorrigibly bent to purſue them to the utmoſt, whatever the Conſequence might be; and not rather from the Impulſe of corrupted Miniſters, from a Deſign to ruine him and make a Property of us, in ſerving the *Ambitions* but *Guilded Pretences* of ſome other Perſon; before we run headlong into ſuch Meaſures. But alas! I am afraid we are not able to ſtand this Tryal, which every cool and thinking Man muſt allow to be very reaſonable; and upon an exact and impartial Enquiry it will be found, That with all this Buſtle, Noiſe, Blood, Treaſure, and Pretence for publick Good and Liberty, we have been deſtroying what we would build up; *graſping unſucceſsfully* at that, amidſt the Dangers, Cruelties, and Expences of a War, and with the Breach of ſo many ſacred Tyes and Engagements, which we might have Inſured to our ſelves and Poſterity with much *Eaſe* and *Innocence*; and wreathing a Yoke about our Necks, which will gaul and pinch us more ſeverely than what we endeavoured to throw off.

The Male-Adminiſtrations charged upon King *James* by thoſe Pamphleteers, are ſhortly ſumm'd up by them in the *Weſtern Severities*, *the High Commiſſion*, *the turning out of Office all good* Proteſtants, *the attempting to reverſe all the* Penal Laws, *the putting unqualified Men into places of* Truſt, Profit *and* Power; *the Exerciſe of the* Diſpenſing Power, *the Excluding the Fellows of* Magdalen College, *and putting in* Papiſts; *with the Impriſonment and Tryal of the Biſhops*. It ſeems theſe Authors are of opinion that any Reaſons, how weak and unconcluſive ſoever they be, ſhould paſs as good Coin upon us, ſince they come from ſuch Magiſterial and Florid Pens. But if they deſigned that their Authority alone ſhould paſs for Reaſon amongſt us, they ought to have ſubjoyned their Names, to add thereby ſome Value and Weight to Arguments and Grounds, by far too weak in themſelves to ſupport ſo loſty a Building as is founded upon them. Some of the Miſgovernments here enumerated, which I have exactly Copied from p. 6. l. 8. and downwards, of *The Pretences of the French Invaſion examined*, are falſe; others maliciouſly aggravated; and the reſt the King was forced upon by the Importunity of Miniſters who were gained by the Prince, and offered ſuch Advices only with a deſign to render him odious to the People, and thereby to diſpoſe them for this happy Revolution, which hath ſince fallen out. But to examine them ſeverally:

As to the Weſtern Severities, I believe it will not be denied, even by

by this Government, that the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion was a Rebellion; and that the Lives and Fortunes of all engaged in it, were by the Laws of the Land forfeited to Juſtice. I am heartily ſorry that ſo much Blood was ſhed by the Hands of the common Executioner; but it is very well known to many Perſons of Honour and Quality, that thoſe great Severities were only to be aſcribed to the inſolent and cruel Tempers of *Jefferies*, *Pollexfen* and *Kirk*; That the King himſelf was extreamly offended at it, and immediately put a ſtop to their Proceedings ſo ſoon as he was acquainted with them: And it is ſtrange enough how this comes to be charged ſo home upon King *James*, by the Champions of this Government, ſince King *William*, by his advancing and employing of *Kirk* and *Pollexfen*, hath plainly diſcovered to the World, That either he did not look upon thoſe *Severities* to be *unſeaſonable* or *criminal*, or elſe that he loved them the better for their *cruel* and *bloody Diſpoſition*, as fitter for his *Service* and *Deſigns*; otherwiſe ſuch *Butchers* would not have been countenanced by a *Reforming Heroe*.

The *High-Commiſſion Court* I will not juſtifie: But we know very well *Who* adviſed it; and we ſee one of the moſt active Members of it in a fair Way to Preferment *now*; and certainly our preſent King would not honour ſuch a Man, or truſt his Affairs in his hands, if he lookt upon that *Commiſſion* to have been a good ground for *Abdication*.

The turning out of Office all good Proteſtants, and the putting of unqualified Men into all Places of Truſt, Profit *and* Power, is a large Strain of Eloquence, which though like the uſual Flights of the ſuppoſed Author, is too light and falſe for ſo grave and weighty a Subject: For many Places of Profit, Truſt, and Power, were kept filled with good and zealous *Proteſtants*; and we know to whoſe Councils and Advices, and at whoſe door we muſt charge the filling of ſo many Places of Truſt with unqualified Perſons. If an E. of *Sunderland* and L. *Churchill* had not been Miniſters of State and Favourites then, perhaps the *Leo* had not yet been exchanged for *Kenſington*. It is to their faithful Counſels and Influence we owe the Advancement of Father *Peters* to the Council Board; the new modelling of the Iriſh Army and Government; the *Magdalen-College* Reformation; the Regulation of *Corporations*; the *Cloſetting*, and the *Impriſonment* and *Tryal* of the *Biſhops*. And if ſo, there is a certain Prince who is really more guilty of thoſe Miſcarriages than the *Abdicated* Monarch, ſince he was the main Engine who ſet thoſe noble Lords to work; and I am afraid his Conduct ſince, when examined, will in a great meaſure make good the Charge.

It's natural enough for a Prince to carry ſome little Favour to thoſe of his own Religion, and eaſie for a treacherous Miniſter to trapan him into more Indulgence for them, than the Laws can well allow; and thoſe two

two Lords being entirely devoted to the Advancement of the Prince's Deſigns, did employ their utmoſt Intereſt with the King to bring him into all thoſe Meaſures, which did ſo much favour and precipitate this Revolution. There were ſome faithful Servants who quickly diſcovered the *Roguery* of this, and ſtoutly made head againſt it; but a blind Zeal having betray'd the *new Converts* into thoſe Meaſures, and the *Time-ſerving Courtier* being joyned with the Pack, *Roguery* became too hard for true *Honeſty*: And yet it was with great difficulty, and matchleſs *Importunities*, the King was wrought upon to do ſeveral of thoſe Things which were the only *important* Errors. It is well known, That it was with no ſmall trouble he was prevailed upon to admit *Peters* to the Council-board. And as to the Regulating of Corporations, the King gave his Opinion againſt it to the very laſt; and I dare appeal to the Earl of *Bathe*, whoſe Teſtimony is not to be ſuſpected by this Government, if on his acceſs to the King, about the Regulations in thoſe Countries where he was Lieutenant, he did not diſcover the Truth of what I here aſſert, from the King's own Complaints to his Lordſhip, *How greatly he was importuned to give way to thoſe Meaſures, from which in his own Judgment he was ſo averſe.*

We might have continued Ignorant, in a great meaſure, of the Particulars of all this fine *Chriſtian* Policy, if upon the *Revolution* theſe honeſt Agents, in ſo good a Work, had not (by boaſting of their ſeveral Merits, Diligence and Activity, in betraying an honeſt hearted Prince, and ſo the more Credulous to his own Ruine) diſcovered all the Steps of this Intreigue: But in the Opinion of ſome every thing is lawful for the obtaining of a Crown. If it be alleged, that moſt certainly the Prince never dreamt of the Crown of *Britain*, until it was preſented to him, as a Reward from a grateful People for their Deliverance; his Promiſes of Places at Court, and Governments of Forts, before he came from *Holland*, which were only in the diſpoſal of the King of *Great Britain*; his Impriſonment of the E. of *Feverſham*, who was a publick Meſſenger, and Peer of *England*, and under the Cognizance of none but the King; his Impriſoning and Baniſhing King *James* from his own Palace, though acknowleged as the juſt Monarch by his own Declaration; his baniſhing the French Embaſſador out of *England*, as ſoon as he came to *London*, and before the Adminiſtration was put into his hands; by which theſe Kingdoms were engaged, without their own Conſent, in a War with *France*, without ſo much as any pretence of Entertainment given to their *Abdicated Monarch*, being a conſiderable time before K. *James*'s Retreat thither; were direct, poſitive and moſt ſolemn Acts of *Sovereignty*, before ever the Crown was conferr'd upon him; and are ſo many plain and evident *Indications* of that early Ambition I have charged upon him. And in farther Evidence, that all his

Designs, from the very first, were aimed at the Crown; and the Crown vested too with the most *towring Prerogatives*: When the *Convention* was deliberating upon some future Provisions against Arbitrary Power, the Prince sent my Lord *Wharton* to several Lords, and Mr. *Coulin* to Sir *Edward Seymor*, Mr. *Hambden*, *Boscowen*, *Powel*, *Swinfen*, and other Commoners, to let them know, *That if the Houses insisted so much upon Limitations, that he would return again, and leave them in the lurch to the Mercy of King* James: So generously tender was this great Deliverer, of our Religion and Liberty.

As to the *Dispensing Power* assumed by K. *James*, I do not pretend to justifie it. I am heartily sorry that so ill a measure was taken, to carry on and establish so desirable and necessary a Good and Birth-right of Mankind, as *Liberty of Conscience*, which carries its own native Beauty and Usefulness so visibly stampt upon it, as could never have failed to obtain an Establishment from the Reason and Judgment of an English Parliament. But this would have so much united the Hearts and Affections of English Subjects with their King, and laid such an invincible rub in the Way of the Prince's *Ambitious Designs*, that it became one of the nicest and most tickliſh Points to manage, the hardest to ward off, and the most dexterous and artful part of their Game: There was no downright opposing of so general and desirable a Good; it was easier to poyson and divert it. The King was first put upon Establishing this Liberty by a Proclamation, that so the Parliament might be prejudiced against a thing, (which otherwise they would have granted) upon the account of the first Measure taken about it: But finding that the general Good and Benefit, which was to be reaped from this Liberty, would have digested and sweetned this Pill; from a Pretence of saving the King's *Honour* from a *Foyl*, and making all sure, though really with a *Design* to *ruine* him, and *baffle* the Thing, they put him upon the *Regulating* and *Closetting* Projects, and upon obliging the *Clergy* to read his Proclamation for *Liberty of Conscience* from their Pulpits. This did alarm the *Bishops*, as was designed, and obliged them to think upon *Petitioning* against it; upon which, those *Beautefeux*, being afraid left the KING should call in his Proclamation, having always found it hard enough to bring him to such Methods; they ordered the business so, that the *Bishops* were so long in presenting their *Petition* to the K. that though their Reasons had convinced and satisfied him, there was not time enough to countermand his former Orders, though never so willing. Upon which, they took occasion to incense the King against them, as if they had delay'd their *Petition* so long, with design to *embroyl him with his people*; and so they run the *Bishops* into the *Tower*, and from thence to the *Barr*.

This is the true History of the *Dispensing Power*, and of the Bishops *Persecution*, which was so warmly

warmly and bitterly urged againſt the King, as undeniable Proofs that his Inclination to Catholicks was too ſtrong for the Laws. But to ſpeak plain Engliſh, I hope thoſe Stretches, in favour of Catholicks, which were Criminal in King *James*, are not become more Legal and Meritorious in King *William*; the exerciſe of the Diſpenſing Power in their Favours, I hope, is as much a fault *now* as *ever*. The Charge will be denied; but I ſhall fully make it good, when I come to diſcourſe upon the Third Motive to the King's Reſtauration. Are not Catholicks employed now in the Army, tho' not qualified by Law? It will be alleg'd they are Foreigners; ſo much the worſe; for an Engliſh Catholick will ſtill have ſome regard for the Laws and Liberties of his Countrymen; wheseas a mercenary Foreigner is abſolutely at the Diſpoſal of his Maſter. Are not the Catholicks as much Countenanced, and in the exerciſe of as much Liberty for their Religion as ever? The Neceſſity of humouring a Confederacy, which muſt ſupport us, the great Strength of which are Catholicks, may be urged as a very good Reaſon for this; but if we examine it to the bottom, this threatens our *Religion* more than any Indulgence was granted them by King *James*. When the Catholicks of *England* hold their Liberty merely from the favour of the Proteſtants of *England*, they muſt be thankful for it, and humble under it; but when they come to derive their Favours, Immunities, and Liberty, from the *Neceſſity* of our *Circumſtances*, and humble *Regard* and *Deference* we muſt pay to Catholick Princes, without whoſe *Aſſiſtance* and *Friendſhip* we cannot *Subſiſt*; their Spirits, Hopes and Haughtineſs, will be enlarged by it: They muſt make grateful acknowlegements to thoſe Catholick Princes, by whoſe kind Influences they enjoy their Liberty. This begets a *Correſpondence* with, and *Dependence* upon *Foreign Princes*; and we do not know how far, by the Inſtigation of Catholicks here, thoſe Princes may be prevailed upon to improve the *Neceſſity* we have of their *Allyance*, to the Advantage of thoſe of their *own Religion* amongſt us. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, within our Remembrance, were the moſt zealous *Champions* for the Roman Religion; and the Dependence of the Catholicks of *England* upon that Houſe, hath been always terrible and troubleſom to this State: And though their Loſſes, and the growth of *France*, hath humbled and levelled all the *towring* Thoughts and *Ambition* of that Family, which did ſo much exerciſe both the Councils and Forces of their Neighbours; yet ſince by our Aſſiſtance that Houſe is to recover its Loſſes, and *France* to be reduced within its ancient bounds; with their loſt Provinces, the Houſe of *Auſtria* may reſume their old *Deſigns*: They were but covered up, not extinguiſhed; concealed through Weakneſs, to be diſcovered upon a greater Encreaſe of Strength and Vigour; in which Caſe we may come to be *whipt* for our *preſent Politicks*.

May the *great God* avert those *Dangers* and *Difficulties* which inviron us, and visibly *threaten* the *Religious* and *Civil Concerns* of these *Kingdoms*. We have, with both our hands, been pulling Destruction upon our selves, and desperately risking our *Religion* and *Civil Rights*, without any Necessity; and unless we repent, and repair these Errors, the Punishments we deserve will certainly overtake us. We have turned away our King, whose Right and Title was certain and unquestioned, nay, we have chased him from us with unspeakable Indignities, upon the Pretence of Errors in Government, which he was put upon by the Artifice of his Enemies, and which he was willing to have repaired. He courted us, by *repeated Applications*, to carve out our own *Securities* for our *Religion* and *Civil Rights*; but we have obstinately refused any Treaty with him. We have set our selves up for a Mark of Reproach to future Ages, by our foolish and invincible Malice, and matchless Impudence, in *vacating a Throne* by a pretended *Abdication*, which imports a Voluntary Resignation; and yet the *Abdicated Monarch* never made any, but asserts his Title to this day. We have grounded this *Abdication* upon a wilful *Desertion* in our Prince, when we forced him away for the Preservation of his Life; and upon Mistakes in Government, which he was trepan'd into, and which he was willing to have repaired; but we would not; as if every Error in Government had been a *Sin against the Holy Ghost*, which neither can be atoned for, nor *forgotten*. The Injury done to our *Sovereign* is very visible from what I have written, and so *Reparation* ought to be speedily made, notwithstanding all the Reasons given by these two Pamphleteers against it. But before I enter upon answering their Objections, I shall discourse upon the other three Motives assigned for the King's Restauration, and make them equally plain with the first I have already handled; which will in a great measure prevent or take off all Objections can be made.

The second Motive was *the Setling the Government upon its old* Basis; which is visibly interrupted and quite unhinged by this *Abdication*. We have turned our Hereditary Monarchy into an Elective. We have cut the Royal Line, interrupted the Succession, and destroyed the just Rights of innocent Persons, upon a pretended *Abdication*; which tho well founded, is but *personal*, and cannot be extended any farther. To this it is answered by the Author of *The Pretences of the French Invasion examined*, p. 10. l. 1. and downwards, *That the Breach, as to the Person of the Reigning King, was made by himself, having deserted; That the Convention did not make, but found the Throne vacant; That in Regard there were so many clear Indications of the Imposture of the Prince of Wales, the Convention applied to the present Queen, who was the next and undoubted Heir; and at her Request, a Title was given to her Husband, and that only for Life, though he was much*

nearer

nearer in Blood than Henry *IV. and* Henry *VII. ſucceſſively made Kings of* England; *That much greater Breaches have been made ſince the Conqueſt, in the Lineal Succeſſion, by depoſing the Reigning King, and ſetting up his Son, or a remoter Perſon, which he acknowlegeth an Injury to the King ſo depoſed; and that the ſaving the Succeſſion to the Princeſs of* Denmark *and her Heirs, ſhews how far the Convention was from any ſuch thing as is alledged.*

By ſuch Reaſonings the Author of this Pamphlet diſcovers but ſmall Knowlege in Hiſtory, and the Affairs of his own Countrey; little *Judgment* and *Veracity*, joyned with a great deal of *Diſingenuity* and *Impudence*. How truly the Breach made in our Monarchy, by the *Abdicating* Vote, is to be laid at King *James*'s door, upon the Account of his *Deſertion*, may appear from what I have already ſaid: And though this Author doth very confidently aſſert, That the Throne was void by *Deſertion*, it ſeems the Convention was not of that Opinion, but found it neceſſary to declare it ſo by a Vote, before there was Acceſs to fill it again; and the Earl of *Nottingham* was then quite another Man, and of other Principles, than we find him now, either as an Author, or Licenſer. A Regency was not in the leaſt akin to a Vacancy. But to humour the Author, ſuppoſe there was a Vacancy, either before or after the Vote, which he pleaſeth; a Vancy in a Monarchy is a certain infallible Mark of its being Elective: For in a Hereditary Monarchy, ſuch as this of *England*, upon the Natural, or Civil Death too (if the Author pleaſeth) of the Regnant Monarch, the Right of the next Succeſſour doth immediately take place; and the People, whether by their Repreſentatives in Parliament, or otherwiſe, do humbly ſubmit to and acknowlege, not declare and authorize, his Natural Title. Our Law Books teach us, *That the Kings of* England *can never dye:* The meaning is, That in an Hereditary Monarchy the Throne cannot be without a Poſſeſſour, even for a Moment; ſo that where either there is the leaſt *Vacancy*, or where the next Poſſeſſour wants a *Sentence* of the People to give him a Title; that very *Sentence*, however diſguiſed, is an *Election*; and together with the preceeding *Vacancy*, doth certainly and indiſpenſably ſtamp the Monarchy *Elective*.

Is it not highly impudent in this Author to tell us, that there are many clear Indications of the Prince of *Wales*'s being an Impoſture; and, at the ſame time, not to let us know what they are, and upon what Grounds they are ſo clear and evident? Can this Author be ſo vain as to think we muſt take his Word for a Thing upon which ſo much depends; no leſs than the juſtice, or injuſtice of a *Sentence*, which muſt ſtand the Nation in ſo much Blood and Treaſure, ſo many Perjuries and repeated Acts of Violence and Oppreſſion, to ſupport and maintain? Or doth he therein follow the Example of the Prince of *Orange* in his *Declaration*? Which tells us of many juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion, that

that the Prince of *Wales* was not Born of the Queen, and *refers* the Inquiry of that Truth to a *free Parliament*. King *James* alſo hath made the ſame *reference*, in a Letter from St. *Germains*, nay deſired the *laſt Parliament* to look narrowly into that Affair; and yet the Prince hath never to this day deſired the Parliament to fall about this important Search, nor acquainted us with any of thoſe juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion. Is it not very ſtrange, That the only *plauſible Pretence*, in all the *Declaration* for his undertaking, ſhould be ſo much over-looked; when a clear and plain Diſcovery of ſuch an infamous Cheat and Impoſture, would have fully juſtified the Proceedings of the Convention of Eſtates, the preſent Settlement of the Crown, given us all Peace of Conſcience and Satisfaction under it, and would really and truly have *Abdicated* King *James* for ever in the Hearts and Affections of every honeſt *Engliſh* Man? The Prince in Honor was concerned to have preſſed it; and the ſupream Senate was obliged in Honor and Juſtice to have made a full Diſcovery of the Truth or Falſhood of it, eſpecially when they have been ſo much preſs'd and challeng'd, as it were in the face of the World, to fall about it, by King *James*, and humbly Petitioned ſo to do by ſeveral Perſons of Honor and Quality in *October*, 1690. and which was delivered into many of the Members Hands; beſides the times and circumſtances of Affairs were the moſt ſeaſonable for ſuch an Enquiry. It was not to be ſuppoſed, that the *Witneſſes* could either then be bribed or overawed into a partial Teſtimony; and there was all imaginable incouragement for freedom of Queſtions, for confronting the Deponents, and producing Counter Evidences, *If there were any ſuch*; ſo that the whole Matter might have been laid open and cleared, to the Satisfaction of all Perſons concerned. The vindicating the Honor and Juſtice of the Nation; the quieting of ſo many Peoples Conſciences, who think themſelves bound by their Oaths of Allegiance to the King's next and immediate Heirs; the regard due to an innocent Child, if the Impoſture be not cleared; the Satisfaction of the Chriſtian World, and the ſecuring theſe Kingdoms from thoſe great Dangers and Confuſions, which are certain and infallible upon Competitions, in point of the Royal Succeſſion; were *great* and *unanſwerable Motives* for an Enquiry; nay amounted to the Weight of a *Duty* due from them to their *Conſtituents*, *themſelves*, and *Poſterity*. What can any thinking Man conclude from ſuch a Neglect and Omiſſion, but that the *Evidence*, for the reality of the Prince of *Wales* his Birth, was *clear* and *convincing*; and the *Counter Evidence*, which was *pretended* againſt it, *falſe* and *forged*; that the Prince of *Orange*, in his Declaration, had rather Studied to amuſe the World with *great* and *ſpecious Pretences*, than to ſatisfie them as to the *Reality* and *Truth* of his Grounds; and that the *Convention* and *Parliament*

ment have followed the Dictates of Paſſion and Prejudice, more than the Rules of Prudence and Juſtice. It cannot be ſuppoſed they forbore to trace this Impoſture from any tenderneſs to the King's Reputation, which would have been ſo deeply Wounded by a Diſcovery of the Cheat: So much time and pains ſpent unſucceſsfully, in laying open the Earl of *Eſſex's* Murther, ſhews evidently how glad they would have been of any occaſion, or probable pretence, whereby to blacken King *James*.

So that the Nation muſt even reſt ſatisfi'd without any further Evidence of this Impoſture, than ſome pretended Suſpicions which were both groundleſs, and raiſed induſtriouſly by thoſe publick *Agitators* for this Revolution: As for Inſtance, The Princeſs of *Denmark's* being forced out of the way to the *Bath* at the time of the Queen's Delivery; whereas it is very well known, and can be made appear, by Perſons of undoubted Honor and Integrity, that the *King* was againſt it, that her *Phyſitians* in Ordinary were againſt it, and that pains was taken to ſearch about for *Phyſitians* who would adviſe her going, as expedient for her Health; ſo early were they contriving *Pretences* for this Calumny. But the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were all along Suſpicious that the Queen was not with Child; and yet no care was taken to ſatisfie them about it. Did they ever acquaint the King with their Suſpicions, and deſire ſome Method might be taken to remove them? And were they *refuſed it?* This was the proper and uſual way in ſuch Caſes: And ſince it was not taken, there is no ground for Complaint. The King could not dive into Suſpicions; which, in my Conſcience, I am perſuaded they never entertain'd. And laſtly, it is alleged, That no care was taken to ſatisfie the Nation, who were full of doubts about the reality of his Birth. But why did they doubt? Were any Methods *neglected*, which uſed to be *obſerved?* Or any Perſons *ſecluded*, who ought to have been *preſent?* Did they give any intimation of their Suſpicions by humble *Petition* or *Remonſtrance*, and deſire to be ſatisfied about 'em? The Queen had formerly brought forth Children without any pretended Jealouſies. Who could foreſee that ſuch a black and helliſh Calumny would be then invented? Yet the Wiſdom of *God Almighty* knowing how far the *Wickedneſs* of this Age would extend; and as an *earneſt*, I hope, of his good and kind *Intentions* to this Nation, hath Providentially furniſhed us with a *better* and more *numerous Evidence* of the Birth of this *Prince*, than can be brought for the *reality* of the Birth of any *Prince*, or private Perſon in *Europe*; and hath yet fortified and confirmed it by another *Conception*, and *Pregnancy* of the Queen's, to the Birth of which Child many Perſons of all Qualities have been called, and invited in an *extraordinary manner*; ſo willing is the King to ſatisfie even our malitious groundleſs

less Complaints. But it seems our Rulers have no Doubts upon that Head, in which they desire to be satisfied, or find it not for their interest to have them cleared.

P. of Wales

From what hath been said, it is evident that there is a real Prince of *Wales*, who must be considered as such so long as the pretended Imposture is not cleared to us, and who hath Injustice done him by the *Convention of Estates*; for though the *Abdicating Vote* were well founded against the Father, it was only *personal* to Him, and cannot reach the Son: In which Case, the Princess of *Orange*'s Right being only from the Gift and by the Election of the People, is a manifest Breach of the Royal Line, and hath quite altered the *Nature* and *Frame* of our Hereditary Monarchy. As to the Title given to the Prince during Life, at her Request, the Princess of *Denmark*, by the Rules of Succession in an Hereditary Monarchy, is unquestionably next Heir to her Sister the Princess of *Orange*, if she dye without Children: By the Survivancy of Royalty lodged in the Prince, after the Princess's Death, there is manifest Injury done to the Princess of *Denmark* and her Children; there is another *unquestionable Breach* made upon the Royal Line, and the antient Constitution of our Monarchy; and there is a second *Election* of a Monarch by the Convention, to the Prejudice of their next undoubted Heir, lest the first Instance had not made a strong enough *President* for an *Elective* Monarchy for the future. And whereas it is pretended, That the Prince had his Title at the request of the Princess, who was the next Heir, and willing to give him Place, Where is this Request and Concession of the Princess to be seen? When was it presented to the Convention; or where is it recorded? But tho it were real, what is that to the Princess of *Denmark* and her Heirs? Can a Compliment, intended by the Princess of *Orange*, from her Self to her Husband, *cut off their Rights*? Again, Is it not evident, that by such a request it's *confessed* that the present Settlement of the Crown is by the *Election* and from the *Gift* of the People; and plainly acknowleged that there is a *Right* in them to *alter* the Succession, and make a *Breach* of the Royal Line at their *Pleasure*?

But it is alleged, That we have the practise of our Predecessors to justifie our present Measures, who have made much greater *Breaches* in the Lineal Succession, deposed Kings, and given the Crown to Persons remoter from the Royal Blood than the Prince of *Orange*; and that in the Cases of *Hen.* IV. and *Hen.* VII. In this the Author discovers himself to be ignorant of the History and Affairs of his own Countrey, in mistaking the Case of *Hen.* IV. in giving us an Instance in *Hen.* VII. of a *Breach* in the Lineal Succession, to the Prejudice of the surviving King and next Heir, since it is very well known that *Richard* the Usurper was killed in Battel, and left no Heir behind him; and King *Henry* being undoubted Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, by his

his Marriage with the Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*, united the two Roſes, and had an unqueſtionable Title to the Crown, without any *Breach* in the Lineal Succeſſion: And alſo in omitting to give us the Inſtance of *Edw.* III. which are all the Examples our Hiſtory affordeth, and are very far from making a Precedent in our Caſe. *Edw.* III. was the eldeſt Son, and undoubted and neareſt Heir of the Crown; and thò he mounted the Throne during his Father's Life, yet it was upon his Father's *Reſignation*: And though he had all the Heat and Ambition of a young Man, and diſcovered during his Reign a largeneſs and greatneſs of Soul more than ordinary, yet he conſtantly refuſed the Crown, until his Father's *Reſignation* was obtained. This can be none of thoſe greater *Breaches* of the Succeſſion, hinted at by our Author; and doth not at all ſute the *Caſe* of King *William*: And *Hen.* IV. makes as bad a Precedent for our Practiſe. King *Ri.* II. *Reſigned* in the favour of *Hen.* had no *Children* to be prejudiced by his *Reſignation*: King *Henry* was the next Heir, the Pretences of the Houſe of *York* being not then ſet on foot; but that Family acquieſced in his Right as well as the reſt of the Kingdom: So that our own Hiſtories can as little furniſh us with Examples, to juſtifie our preſent Practiſe, as thoſe of other Nations. If in the Inſtances aſſigned, the horrid Violences of *Richard* the Third, the Male Adminiſtrations of *Richard* the Second and *Edward* the Second, could not in the Opinion of this Author warrant their *Dethroning*, from the Character of *Injuries* done them, he muſt certainly be jeſting all along with us in his Pamphlet, in juſtifying an *Abdication* for *leſs* and *ſhorter* Errors; and the Tory *Nottingham* is forced at laſt to peep out from under his *Republican* Diſguiſe.

As to the Pretence, That *by ſaving the Succeſſion to the* Princeſs *of* Denmark *and her Heirs, the Convention hath ſufficiently Shewn how far they were from* deſigning *any Alteration in the Succeſſion, or the antient Conſtitution of our Monarchy*, it is equally weak and frivolous with any of the reſt; and lays a Foundation for another Election, as it is expreſſed in the Vote. For the Proviſion is not to the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s Heirs ſimply, as the Author falſly and diſingenuouſly repreſents, but runs thus, *To the* Princeſs Ann *of* Denmark *and the Heirs of her Body; which failing, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid King* William; which excludes all *collateral Pretenders* of the *Orleans* and *Palatine* Families, who would have been comprehended under the general Notion of *Heirs*. It was not poſſible for the Wit of Man to contrive a Vote, which in ſo few Words could more viſibly *alter* the *Nature* of our *Hereditary Monarchy*, make *more* and *ſtronger Precedents* for an *Elective*, occaſion more *Interruptions* in the Succeſſion, and lay a better *Foundation* for the like for the time to come. For in this *Sentence* we have a *Breach* in the Perſon of the *reigning* King, by the *Abdication*; we have another *Breach* in the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales*; we

have the People *conferring* the Crown by *Election* upon the Princeſs of *Orange*, to the Prejudice of that *Prince* his *Title*; we have a Survivancy of the Government ſettled in the Prince of *Orange*, by a *ſecond* Act of this *Elective* Power of the People, to the Prejudice of the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her *Heirs*, which makes a third *Breach* in the Succeſſion; and laſtly, we have all the *Collateral Heirs* of this Crown quite cut off by the *Entail*; by which the Monarchy is to be *extinguiſhed*, or a *Series* of *Elective* Monarchs buckled upon this Nation, as ſtrongly as thoſe *good Patriots* could do it by their *Sentence*. Let any wiſe and thinking Man judge, if this be not ſuch a palpable and viſible *unhinging* of all the antient *Frame* and *Conſtitution* of our glorious Monarchy, as deſerves the warmeſt *Endeavours*, and moſt diligent *Application* of every honeſt Man, *for the ſetling of this our antient* Engliſh *Government upon its old* Baſis, *by the Reſtauration of King* James.

The Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invaſion*, did certainly foreſee theſe Difficulties the former Author had run himſelf into; and being unwilling to ſhipwrack his Reaſon upon ſuch groſs Abſurdities, he broadly hints at *Conqueſt*: And in this he but ſeconds the Author of the *Anſwer to the Paper delivered by Mr.* Aſhton *at his Execution*, Licenſed by a Secretary of State; who boldly, and without Diſguiſe, pleadeth upon that Title. This *Plea*, though it be not liable to the ſame Abſurdities with the other, yet labours under greater; ſince by one blow, and with one daſh of his Pen, he levels at the *Birthrights* of the *Subjects*, as well as of the *Monarch*; and endeavours to extinguiſh the *Freedoms* of *Engliſh-Men*, as well as the antient *Government*; and certainly to entail upon and place us actually under that *Slavery*, the *Fear* of which is the beſt Reaſon they aſſign for reſtraining us from aſſiſting our King in his *Return*: As if ſuch remote Fears of *Slavery* were more dreadful than preſent *Servitude*, which is the neceſſary conſequence of *Conqueſt*. Theſe Champions make very bold with their Prince, and wound his Honour and Intereſt deeper than the keeneſt Enemies could do: Such Blunders muſt fall in, when Men reaſon rather from Paſſion than from ſteady and generally received Maxims, and labour to defend a deeply tinctured *Republican* Revolution by Tantivy *Monarchical* Principles.

It is ſtrange to ſee a Man who is indued with a rational Soul, whoſe greateſt Prerogative and Excellency conſiſts in a clear unbyaſſed and diſtinct Exerciſe of Reaſon, ſo blinded with fooliſh Prejudice, as rather than ſubmit to plain and convincing Truth, chuſe to betake himſelf to this unaccountable notion of *Conqueſt*; which is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Prince's Declaration, deſtroys the Maxims and Grounds, upon which the Convention of Eſtates (from whom the Prince derives his Title) did proceed; overturns the Subjects Claim to Rights and Privileges, the pretended

pretended Care of which is the beſt Support of this Government; brings home to our Fancies and Imaginations the moſt frightful *Ideas* which a free-born People can form to themſelves of *Tyranny* and *Slavery*, with all the terrible and deſolating Conſequences which attend them; and conſequently lays us under Obligations, from a due regard to our ſelves and Poſterity, and Duty to our Country, to ſhake off the Yoak with all ſpeed, though with never ſo much Hazard and Difficulty.

The Prince, in his Declaration, after an Enumeration of Grievances, aſſures us, *That he came for no other Deſign, than to have a free and full Parliament aſſembled, and the Elections made and returned according to the antient forms; and that the Members of this Parliament ſhould meet and ſit in full Freedom, until ſuch Laws be prepared, as the two Houſes ſhould concur in, and find neceſſary for Maintenance of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and ſecuring the* Peace, Honour, *and* Safety *of this Nation; that there may be no more Danger of falling at any time under* Arbitrary Government; *and that he had nothing before his Eyes in this undertaking, but the preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion, *the covering of all Men from* Perſecutions for their Conſciences, *and the ſecuring to the whole Nation the free Enjoyment of all their* Laws, Rights, *and* Liberties, *under a* juſt *and* legal Government. *For the accompliſhing of which, ſince he had only brought a Force with him for defending his* Perſon againſt the Violence of Evil Counſellors, *all the Peers of this Realm, Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and others of all Ranks and Degrees, are invited to aſſiſt him againſt all who ſhall endeavour to oppoſe the redreſſing of Violences done to the Conſtitution of the* Engliſh *Government.* Theſe Pretences can never be adjuſted to the Notion and Title of *Conqueſt*. The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of this Realm, acting in a free and legal Parliament, for the ſecuring of their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government, neither can nor will ever deſign it.

I will charitably ſuppoſe, That the Convention of Eſtates, and their Conſtituents, did believe they had valuable Rights and Privileges, their Religion, Liberties and Properties, which were derived and ſecured unto them from the poſitive Statutes and Laws of the Land, as well as from the Dictates of Nature and *Original Contract*; that thoſe Rights and Privileges were invaded, and in danger to be loſt; which made them run into that general Defection, and make a Preſent of the Crown to the P. of *Orange*, as the only Expedient they could then think of. So long as the Prince's Title runs in this Channel, they are at Liberty, when they pleaſe, to review thoſe Meaſures, examine the Grounds, and upon a Rectification of their Judgments, and Conviction that their beloved Rights and Privileges may be better ſecured under their antient Monarch, to betake themſelves again unto him. *Sublata cauſa, tollitur effectus.* Or they may enquire into the Conduct and Government of the Prince; whether it Quadrate

drate with the *Original Contract* they made with him; whether their *Rights* and *Privileges* have been entirely preſerved; and if they can diſcover any bad Influences or Aſpect towards *Liberty* and *Property*, then to make a Sacrifice of the Workmanſhip of their own Hands to a *freſh Eſtabliſhment* of thoſe Sacred and Venerable Rights. By the Maxims of this laſt Revolution, *The Intereſt of the People is paramount to that of the Prince.*

But if *CONQUEST* take place, then *Adieu* to *Rights* and *Privileges*, *Liberty* and *Property*. The old muſty Statute Books and Records of *Weſtminſter-hall* and the *Tower*, may be committed to the Flames, as ſo much waſte Paper: His Will and Pleaſure muſt be the Law whereby we are governed; our Liberties muſt lie at the Mercy of his Miniſters; and our Properties muſt be committed to the Stewardſhip of his Soldiers. Let us examine the Condition of Conquered People and Provinces, from antient and modern Hiſtory. Their old Government, Laws and Cuſtoms, which they had been inured to from their Infancy, recommended and endeared to them by long Uſe and Acquaintance, muſt be ſwept off the Stage; ſtrange Orders, ſtrange Cuſtoms, ſtrange Miniſters, muſt take their place; Our Perſons, our Liberty, our Eſtates, and all our moſt valuable Earthly Enjoyments, muſt lie at the Mercy, Pleaſure, and Will, of the *Conqueror*: Induſtry and Virtue will vaniſh, there being no Reward for them; for a *Conquered People* muſt aſpire no higher, than to learn to obey ſubmiſſively, and to eat the Bread of Tribulation and Affliction with Patience: The care and deſire of Poſterity will languiſh; being unwilling to beget Children, to become ſuch Slaves, and as miſerable as they are themſelves. The *Indian* Women ſtrangled their own Children, after their Birth, that they might not become Servants to the *Spaniards*; and Dutch Severities will be found nothing ſhort, upon the Record of Hiſtory, of Spaniſh Cruelties. The Annals of all Nations can furniſh us with dreadful Inſtances of the unſpeakable Miſeries of a *Conquered People*: We may find thoſe Examples of the Calamities of that Condition, which would make us embrace Death for a Favour, and be able to ſink us into utter Deſpair; unleſs at the ſame time theſe very Hiſtories had given us a view of the ſtrenuous and ſucceſsful Endeavours of thoſe generous and worthy Spirits, who have deſpiſed Dangers, Difficulties, Torments, and Death it ſelf, for the *Reſcue* and *Deliverance* of their Country and fellow Subjects. The greater and more terrible the Dangers were, the more vigorouſly and undauntedly did they court them, when they were in purſuit of ſo glorious a Quarry. The Efforts of Conquered Nations for the Recovery of their loſt Liberties, ſtand faireſt upon the Records of Fame, and are handed down to us with the greateſt Exactneſs and *Encomiums*; as if our Anceſtors had judged it neceſſary, and all Writers had conſpired together to rouze up, when Occaſion called for it, that Deſire of Liberty,

Liberty, which was born with us. If Conqueſt muſt be forced upon us as our preſent Lot; I hope all true Engliſh Men will now diſcover as great a Senſe, as any upon Record, of a *vindicative* Duty to their Country, and Love for their Liberties; be as tender and careful to tranſmit them ſafe and ſound to their Poſterity, as their Anceſtors have been vigilant and active in handing them down to them; that they will be no leſs careful of the antient Government and Monarchy of this Nation, than of their own particular Rights, ſince every Blow which reaches the one, muſt certainly wound and endanger the other; and that it ſhall be impoſſible to make the *Engliſh* a *Conquered* People, becauſe they will generally chuſe *not to be*, rather than *to be Slaves.*

It may be alledged, That all that I have ſaid upon *Conqueſt* might have been forborn, ſince the King ſets up for no ſuch *Title.* Perhaps it is not ſeaſonable to do it: But to have Conqueſt ſo publickly pleaded for in Pamphlets, Written or Licenſed by *Secretaries of State*, and that without any Check or Puniſhment from the Prince, *is very Suſpicious*, eſpecially if upon Examination of thoſe Oppreſſions which we ſuffer under the preſent King, we ſhall find his Conduct *ſmell rank* that way. If we be treated as a Conquered People, the Miſery is ſtill the ſame, or rather greater; though the *Prince* who deals ſo by us ſhould be called a *Reformer.*

It being made evident and plain, That King *James* was highly *injured*, and the antient Government quite *unhinged*, by the Sentence of *Abdication*, and our late Meaſures; I come next to examine how exactly the Prince hath fulfilled and made good unto us the pretended Ends and Deſigns of his *Declaration*; how well he hath kept the *Original Contract* we made with him; and what Benefit we may expect to reap for the future by this Revolution. I ſhall take his Conduct in both Kingdoms jointly under Conſideration, ſince he hath not only united them in the ſame *Declaration*, but likewiſe iſſued out a *Declaration* apart for *Scotland*; intimating thereby, *That the Oppreſſions in that Kingdom were more weighty and numerous than here; and that the Arbitrary Deſigns of our Princes did always firſt Commence there, to make a Precedent for this Kingdom; and that the Conduct and Poſture of Affairs there, did always certainly prognoſticate to the Curious Obſerver, what was deſigned to be Copied and Executed here.* I do not pretend to give a particular detail of the preſent Adminiſtration in that Kingdom; but there are ſome conſiderable Errors have been acted there, which have made a Noiſe, and raiſed ſuch publick Complaints, as have conveyed the Knowledge of them here to us.

The Aſſuming a Power of *Diſpenſing* with the due Execution of Laws enacted by King and Parliament, for Security of Religion, Liberty, and Happineſs of the Subject, is much urged againſt King *James*, as a great

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Motive to the Prince's Undertaking. A *Diſpenſing* Power, aſſumed by any Prince, doth fatally threaten the Liberties of a People where it is practiſed, and makes them *Tenants* at Will for thoſe Privileges which the Laws of the Land hath given them a *Freehold* in. This is really ſuch an important Point, and of ſuch Conſequence for the Subject to have been cleared, that it was indiſpenſably the Duty of a Reforming Prince, Convention of Eſtates, and Parliament, to have decided this Controverſie, and placed ſuch Marks and Boundaries for the future, ſo plain and obvious both to Prince and People, that each might have known their particular Rights, and governed themſelves for the future accordingly. But our Parliaments have thought fit to leave it where they found it, dark and undecided, to this day; and the Prince hath diſcovered he was well enough pleaſed with this Omiſſion, by taking as large and broad Steps that way, as any can be charged upon King *James*.

The Iriſh Treaty furniſheth us with a Convincing Proof of this; where ſuch Indulgencies were granted unto them ſolely and ſingly by his own Authority, with relation to the Exerciſe of their Religion, preſerving of their Arms, Diſpenſation from Oaths, and Security againſt Purſuits for their Plunderings; as were directly contrary to the Laws of the Land, the Safety, Rights, and Privileges of the Proteſtant Subjects of that Kingdom. This Treaty, I do acknowlege, was afterwards ratified by Parliament; but though in ſome Caſes the Authority of Parliament may give a legal Being for the future, yet that new Life commenceth only from the Date of their Sanctions, and doth not juſtifie *preceeding Errors*: And the many Difficulties which aroſe in both Houſes, about the Ratification, was a clear *Inuendo* how dangerous and illegal they judged the Treaty to be. How ſtrangely are we altered? King *James*'s Exerciſe of this Diſpenſing Power, could neither be forgotten nor attoned for; but King *William*'s ſtretch that way, ſhall obtain a Parliamentary Approbation; *Such is the Juſtice and unbyaſſed Integrity of theſe Times.*

But we need not look ſo far as *Ireland* for Inſtances: We have our *perſonal* Liberties ſecured to us by poſitive and expreſs Statutes, and Methods appointed by our Law, whereby to recover our Liberties when loſt, with ſuch ſevere Animadverſions againſt thoſe who obſtruct the due courſe of Law in obtaining of our Freedom, with ſuch great and conſiderable Damages appointed in that Caſe, as plainly enough points out unto us the Value and Worth of this true *Engliſh* Privilege. It is the choiceſt piece of our *Magna Charta*, and *Original Contract*; and, for my part, I ſhould much rather allow a Prince to *diſpence* with Penal Statutes, and iſſue out a Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience, than to ſport himſelf at pleaſure with my *perſonal Freedom*; without which

which there can be no reliſh in any other Enjoyment; and yet there never was a *Reign* wherein our Birth-right in this hath been more abuſed, ſpoiled, and broken in upon. The Engliſh Subjects have been put into *Proclamations*, and clapt into Priſons for *High Treaſon*, and refuſed the benefit of their *Habeas Corpus*, though there was no Information upon *Oath* againſt them, according as the Law appoints to juſtifie ſuch a *Procedure*: Nay, ſo groſly, frequently, and impudently, have our publick Miniſters *affronted* the Laws upon this Head, that they have found themſelves obliged to apply to Parliament for *Pardons*. For we have found out a new Trick in this Government, and *reforming* Age, firſt to act all imaginable *Violences* againſt the beſt and choiſeſt of our Laws, and than to obtain either a *Ratification* or *Pardon* in Parliament; whereby they have ſtruck our *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and the *Liberty* of the Subject, *Dead* at one Blow, by *Debauching* our Parliaments into a *Confederacy* againſt (in place of *protecting*) the Liberties of the People, and ſo making the *Nation*, as it were *Felo de ſe*. No period of Hiſtory doth furniſh us with ſuch *wholeſale Merchants* for our beſt and moſt valuable Rights; neither do we know when this Trade ſhall be at an end, or when our *Rulers* will be weary of *Tricking* us out of our *Liberties*. We have a freſh Inſtance of late of the Knowlege and Learning of our *Judges*: When the Earls of *Huntington*, *Midleton*, and others moved at the *Barr* for their *Habeas Corpus*, there was no Information upon *Oath* againſt them to countenance a refuſal; otherways to be ſure we ſhould have heard of it: But *Aaron Smith* muſt make Affidavit that they had Evidence for the *High Treaſon* charged againſt them, which could not be got ready; and ſo by his Liberty and Freedom of Conſcience, ſave in ſome meaſure the Credit of the Court: By this fine new Knack, they were all remitted back to Priſon. Such *Judges* may at laſt come to be fit enough for the *Bench* even under a *Conqueſt*; but in the mean time all ſuch Expedients, which are not authoriſed from the Statutes, do rather prove the *Injuſtice* of the Court, than *fulfil* the Law; and however it may be Gilded, we cannot but ſee and feel the bitter *Pill* we muſt ſwallow.

Was not the *Habeas Corpus Act* ſuſpended for many Months? It's true this was done by Parliament; but ſo much the worſe, if our own *Delegates*, in whoſe Hands we truſt the *care*, but not the entire *ſurrender* of our Liberties, make a *Compliment* of that which is not in their *Power*, to the *Ambition* or *Neceſſities* of any *Prince*. Parliaments can no more juſtly over-turn *Foundations*, than the Prince. Such Privileges as are derived from King and Parliament, upon the account of the Subjects *Temporary* Conveniences, are truſted to the *review* of the ſame Court; but thoſe *Fundamental* Privileges, which are the *Birth right* of Nations, and derived *Originally*,

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Originally from the Laws of *Nature* it ſelf; ſuch as the Freedom of our Perſons, and Dominion over our Properties, fall only under the Cognizance of Parliaments, for their better *Eſtabliſhment* againſt ſuch *Breaches* as the depraved Nature of Princes and their Miniſters will be making upon them.

The Nature and Deſign of Societies hath occaſioned a partial Submiſſion of theſe two great native Privileges to the Safety of the Body Politick, by puniſhing of Crimes; and to the Support of it, by Taxes, which we grant our ſelves: But in no Conſtruction of Reaſon, Senſe, or Juſtice, can *Delegates* be underſtood to be impowered to make an entire *Surrender* of thoſe Rights into the Hands of any Prince, were it but for a *Moment*. It may be alledged, That the ſafety and neceſſity of the Government put our *Rulers* upon ſuch extraordinary Meaſures. If Reaſons and Pretences of State (the Secrets of which are always locked up in the Prince his Breaſt) can apologize for ſuch bold Strokes againſt our moſt *Fundamental* Privileges and Laws; Where is there any Right or Immunity, which we can call our own, or be aſſured of? Since ſuch Pretences ſhall never be wanting to Entitle the Prince to an abſolute Dominion over our Property, as well as over our Liberty; ſince the laſt is more valuable than the firſt; Why may not Reaſons of State, as juſtly render him Maſter of the one as of the other?

If it was to preſerve our Liberties from the Inſults of King *James*, we placed the Prince upon the Throne, we have certainly either miſtaken the *Diſeaſe* or the *Cure*; ſince he cannot be preſerved upon it at a cheaper Rate, than a *Sacrifice* of what we intended to preſerve; we are to learn nothing from this Revolution, but a ſurer and more infallible way of enſlaving the Subject. K. *James* never dreamt of ſuch a Method. An Engliſh Parliament was hitherto eſteemed a Court inſeparable from the true Intereſt of Engliſh Men; but a little more Training under ſo good a Maſter may make them change Principles, and become in time as complacent and good natur'd as ever the *French* and *Swediſh* States were. Nothing it ſeems, in gratitude, can be refuſed to our *Deliverer*. But thô Gratitude be a Virtue, it ought to have its Bounds, leſt it run us farther than we deſigned or intended at firſt, even to the *Deſtruction* of thoſe Rights, for the Preſervation of which we deſire to appear ſo grateful. The King of *Denmark*, in our time, by the Merit of ſome Actions performed for his People, and during their firſt *Raptures* of Gratitude for it, found the way to *Enſlave* them, by changing an Elective and Limited, into an Hereditary and Deſpotick Monarchy.

The admitting of *unqualified* Perſons into Places of Employment, and the Erecting the *High-Commiſſion* Court, were thought great Crimes in King *James*, and mighty Errors in Government; and yet the firſt is

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as frequently practiſed in the Army as ever; and how much further the Prince's *Dependance* upon Popiſh Confederates may lead him in favour of Catholicks, muſt be owing to their *Moderation*; for we lie at their *Mercy* upon that head, and may come to be made ſenſible, that our *Foreign Allyances* may prove as troubleſome and uncaſie to us, in favour of Papiſts, as King *James's Religion* was. And as to the laſt, the Prince muſt either look upon that Court to be no Crime, or by favouring the moſt active Members in it, he muſt deſtroy and invert that old Engliſh Maxim, *That our Kings can neither Err, nor be puniſhed; but that Evil Counſellors are liable to both.*

The turning out the Fellows of *Magdalen College* from their Freeholds, contrary to that Proviſion in *Magna Charta, That no Man ſhould loſe his Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land*, is not to be juſtified; and yet falls much ſhort of the putting People to death, under this Government, by *Martial Law*, before it was Enacted. Few Men will ever ſcruple to ſecure their Lives, with the loſs of their Places. The *Quo Warranto* and *Regulation Projects*, were much to be complained of; but we may very eaſilie imagine to whoſe Practiſes they were owing, by the Countenance and Preferments the Authors and Promoters of thoſe Councils received from this Government; neither can the *Quo Warranting* of *Charters* be ſo illegal, as the Declaration would make us believe; ſince King *William* himſelf treads in the ſame Path, by impoſing a Governor upon *New England*, upon the *Quo Warranto* Foot, contrary to the Opinion of his Privy-Council.

Whereas by the Declaration, *The ſlighting and rejecting of Petitions, delivered by Subjects with Submiſſion and Reſpect*, is conſidered as a high Strain of Abſolute Power; yet when the People of *SCOTLAND* had ſecured to themſelves the Privilege of *Petitioning*, by their Claim of Rights; and in purſuance, and by vertue of that Privilege, the greateſt part of that Parliament, which placed the *Crown* upon his Head, had humbly addreſſed unto the preſent King for his Aſſent to ſome *Votes* which they had paſſed for Eſtabliſhing of *Religion* and *Liberty*, and which were agreeable to their ancient Laws and Privileges, they were *ſcornfully* and *diſdainfully* refuſed and rejected. If by the Declaration it was a Fault to treat a Peer of *England* as a *Criminal*, for aſſerting that the Subjects were not bound to obey a Popiſh Juſtice of Peace; it cannot be a piece of Juſtice in King *William* to paſs a Sentence of Baniſhment upon the Earl of *Feverſham*, who is a Peer of *England*, within theſe few Weeks, without ſo much as alleging a Crime againſt him.

Since by the Declaration the obliging People to deliver their Opinion before hand, as to the repealing the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*, and the turning out of Employments ſuch as could not promiſe luſtily, is repreſented as ſo foul a piece of Collu-

ſion. The *Cloſetting* of Members of Parliament now, to pre-engage their Votes in Affairs depending before them, and the *Diſgraces* which ſome obſtinate Perſons fell under upon it, ſhould have been forborn, unleſs K. *William* be diſſatisfied with the Prince of *Orange* his Declaration, and the Rules and Maxims therein Eſtabliſhed.

According to the Scottiſh Declaration, *The appointing of Judges in an unuſual manner, and giving them Commiſſions which were not to continue during Life, or Good Behaviour*, was highly illegal; yet King *William*, after he got the Crown, found he was miſtaken in that Paragraph, and *Nominated* the whole Bench, without ſubjecting them to a *Tryal*, and the *Approbation* of Parliament, according as *Law* and *Cuſtom* required; did not think fit to continue their *Commiſſions* during Life or Good Behaviour; and appointed them a *Lord Preſident*, thô by expreſs Statute he was to be *elected* by the Bench.

By the Declaration, *The Impoſing of Bonds without Act of Parliament, and the Permitting of free Quarters to the Soldiers*, are declared to be high and intollerable Stretches of Government: The ſame hath been practiſed in this Government, with greater Confidence, leſs Compaſſion, and other *aggravating* Circumſtances. Bonds have been impoſed by Authority of Council, without Authority of Parliament, as may appear from their publick Proclamations; and many Thouſands of Soldiers have been maintained upon free Quarter for many Months together, countenanced and abetted in it by the Government; and the Funds for reimburſing the Country, which were appointed by *Parliament*, have been otherways diverted.

The Commiſſionating the Officers of the Army to ſit as Judges upon the Lives and Eſtates of the Subjects; and the putting People to Death without a legal Tryal, Jury, and Record, were complained of in the Declaration, were thought good Reaſons for Forefaulting of K. *James*, and were provided againſt upon this laſt Settlement of the Crown: And yet both the Caution given by the Sentence againſt King *James*, and the future Proviſion made by the *Eſtates*, prove too weak to reſtrain this Government from practiſing the ſame things, by ordering and impowering Colonel *Hill*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, to put *Glencou* and all the Males of his *Clan*, under Seventy, to death; which was partly executed upon them, without any *Legal Tryal*, *Jury*, or *Record*. Neither can their former Enmity and Oppoſition to the Government furniſh any Apology for ſo barbarous a Murther, ſince they had all either actually taken the Benefit of the Indemnity then granted, and ſo were *Pardoned*, or had Protections in their *Pockets*, which put them under the immediate *Care* and *Safeguard* of the Government. It may puſle the beſt Heads to find out the Reaſon why *Iriſh Papiſts*, though ſtated Enemies,

mies, ſhould be indulged to the prejudice of our Laws and Rights; and yet *Proteſtants*, though formerly Enemies, barbarouſly Maſſacred, when *Indemnified* and under *Protection*; unleſs K. *W* be reſolved, from the *Obligations* he is under, and the *Deference* he muſt pay to the *Pope* and *popiſh Princes*, to embrace every Occaſion of *deſtroying* the one, and *cheriſhing* the other.

By the Declaration we are aſſured, *That the* Prince *will concur in every thing that may procure the* Peace *and* Happineſs *of theſe Nations, and which a free and lawful* Parliament *ſhall determine*: And yet how many neceſſary and uſeful Bills, for the Happineſs of the Nation, have been ſtifled by the Intereſt, Intreigues, and Sollicitations of the King himſelf, his Miniſters and Courtiers; and the Royal Aſſent refuſed to many Bills in our Neighbouring Kingdom; and in this to the Bill about *Judges*, which was thought ſo neceſſary an Expedient for the Eſtabliſhing of *Juſtice*, and to cut off their ſervile Dependance upon the Court, which was charged as ſuch a Blemiſh upon the *Judges* in King *James*'s Reign, and was always look'd upon as dangerous to the *Lives* and *Liberties* of the Engliſh Subjects.

We were aſſured, That the only Deſign of the Prince's Undertaking, was, *The preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion, *the covering all Men from* Perſecution *for their* Conſciences, *and the ſecuring to the whole Nation the free enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government*. How well and truly he hath confined himſelf within theſe Limits, and other Bounds he preſcribed to himſelf in his Declaration, may partly appear from what hath been ſaid; and ſhall yet be made more clear and evident by a true and impartial Enquiry into his Conduct, and ſome conſiderable Stretches which have been made in Points not glanced at by the Declaration, becauſe they were Strains of Abſolute and Deſpotick Power, which King *James*'s Reign did not furniſh us with any Inſtances of the like.

The Power of impoſing Taxes is *unqueſtionably* lodg'd in Parliament; and the People of this Iſland have a natural *Right* unto, and *Dominion* over their Properties; and the Prince cannot ſhare with them in it, in whole, or in part; except in ſo far as they conſent to it themſelves, by their Repreſentatives in Parliament: And our Parliaments, though abundantly liberal in other reſpects, have never indulged the leaſt Liberty to our Monarchs on that head; being ſo far tight to their Truſt, and their Conſtituents Intereſt: And the *Eſtates of both Kingdoms* judged it neceſſary, upon the preſent Settlement of the Crown, to aſſert the Peoples *Right* in it; and plainly to expreſs it as one of the *Conditions* of that Settlement. And yet the Privy Council of the Kingdom of *Scotland* have openly and avowedly, in Contempt of the antient Laws and *late Original Contract*, by their publick Proclamations, commanded and

appointed under the ſevereſt Penalties, the Subjects of that Kingdom, at their *own Charge and Expence*, to furniſh a great number of Horſes for the Uſe and Service of the Army; and for carrying Ammunition and Proviſion of Victuals, with Men to attend the ſaid Horſes: And I am informed, That when upon cool and ſecond Thoughts the Council, conſidering what they had done, how illegal it was, and the Danger they had run themſelves into by it, thought fit to *apply* unto the Parliament for an *Approbation*, it was *refuſed* them.

Extravagant Bail was complained of, and provided againſt by the *States of both Kingdoms*; and yet it is daily and frequently impoſed, and exacted many times far above the Value of their Eſtates.

The *Freedom* of Elections to Parliament, from the *Bribes* and *Directions* of Court and Courtiers, was expreſly conditioned by the *States of both Kingdoms*, upon their Tender of the Crown. How well that is kept and obſerved, may appear from the bare faced and open *Applications* made to Counties, Corporations, and particular Electors, for the Choice of ſuch and ſuch Perſons, with *Threats* and *Promiſes* of Reward. Nay, I have known *Three thouſand Pounds* expended for ſecret Service, to prevent the Election of a Perſon who had been eminently Serviceable to this Government, becauſe he was found tighter to the *Intereſt* of his Country, than to the Court; for there never was a Reign wherein the *Intereſt* of King and People were more confidently ſtated as *contradiſtinct*, than in this, though it be only the Conſent and pretended Intereſt of the People, gives Birth, Riſe, and Title to it.

The Frequency of Parliaments, *for Redreſſing of Grievances; the amending ſtrengthning, and preſerving of the Laws, with all Freedom of Speech and Debates in them*, was inſiſted upon and *fundamentally* eſtabliſhed by the *States* of both Kingdoms, when they *Elected* their preſent Majeſties to the Throne. How well this is obſerved and made good to both Kingdoms, is obvious enough. It is not for Redreſſing of Grievances, amending or preſerving the Laws, they are aſſembled; but for giving of Money. The craving Neceſſities of the State, the preſſing Circumſtances of the Confederates and foreign Affairs, the early Preparations of the French King, an honourable Peace, the Good of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and Fears of King *James*; are become the cruel and everlaſting Topicks, the common and ordinary Stale, whereby the true Intent of Parliaments is baffled, and the Money-buſineſs quickened and finiſhed. The laſt is now ſo much the buſineſs of Parliaments, and the firſt ſo little, that it is an equal Wager that this Court may come at laſt to plead *Preſcription* againſt *Parliaments*, as to any other buſineſs but Money-bills.

As to freedom of Speech and Debates, though there be none queſtioned for it, yet Members are ſo frequently

quently Diſcouraged and Frowned upon at Court, Diſgraced and turn'd out of Employments, whenever they launch out into an enquiry after Grievances, or the preſent Adminiſtration: And upon the other hand, the Places of Honor and Truſt, and the Money of the Nation, are ſo openly and viſibly employed for *Debauching* of Members from a ſenſe and feeling of the true Intereſts of the People, and for diveſting them of all the publick and generous Notions, Zeal, unwearied and bold Endeavours for the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, (the joynt Good and Intereſt of King and Kingdom,) which hath been hitherto ſo much the Glory and Entertainment of brave *Engliſh* Spirits in our *Parliaments*; that this native and neceſſary Freedom of Speech and Debates, is more viſibly *threatned* and more effectually *deſtroyed*, than ever could have been done by Force, Sentence, or Impriſonment. We are ſooner *wheedled* with falſe, if gilded, *pretences*, than *hectored* or *huffed* into a Court Compliance.

Laſtly, Was there ever a Reign, wherein the Plunderings and Free-Quarterings of Soldiers was more countenanced, and the People more grievouſly oppreſſed by them, than in this? The Complaints of *Scotland* upon that head already hinted at, the irregular and unheard of Abuſes and Miſcarriages of the *Iriſh* Army, the Deſolations brought upon that miſerable Kingdom by them, and the daily Inſtances we meet with of that nature in this Kingdom, are convincing and undeniable Evidences of the Truth of it. Nay, to ſuch a paſs is it already come, that when a Secretary of State was applied unto by Perſons injured, who were intirely in the Intereſt of the Government, and preſented by the Knight of the Shire with Complaints againſt the Abuſes and Free-Quartering of Soldiers; they were ſcornfully rejected with this Anſwer, *That Men and Horſes muſt eat*: Meaning, no doubt, that ſince the Taxes deſigned by the Parliament for that end, were neceſſarily to be applied unto the uſe of the *Confederates*, the People muſt be *doubly burdened* for the Subſiſtence of the Troops. Such brave *Guardians* are our preſent *Rulers* become of the Engliſh *Liberties*.

Here we have a ſad but true *Catalogue* of our Miſeries; only it is not full and compleat. The preſent *Adminiſtration* can furniſh us with a great many more *Inſtances*: But I have confined my ſelf to a Deduction of thoſe *groſſer Errors*, which viſibly *infringed* the *pretences* of the Prince's *Declaration*, and the *Petition of Rights*; the ſecuring and preſerving of which, was the Reaſon expreſly aſſigned for his *Election* into the Throne. If in the *Infancy* of his Government, when his ſenſe of Gratitude for the Gift of Three Crowns, if ever, muſt be *freſh* in his Memory; when the Hearts and Hands, as well as the Purſes of the People, were *neceſſary* for his Support; when his *Honour* as well as *Intereſt* called for a *different* Conduct, he run ſo *warmly* into ſuch Meaſures; what muſt

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we feel, when he comes to ſit ſure and be fixt upon his Throne?

We may certainly conclude upon the Inclinations and *future* Deſigns of a Prince, by his *preceeding* Conduct, and the *choice* of his Miniſters; and from both theſe Reflections, in *preſent* Caſe, we have but a melancholy View of our *future* Condition. Are not thoſe very Men, who in both Kingdoms were the *Authors*, *Contrivers*, and *Actors*, of the moſt Arbitrary and grievous Proceedings, which were complained of, during the *Reigns* of our two laſt Monarchs, become the *Miniſters*, the *Darlings*, the *Favourites* of this Reign? Have they changed their Principles and Maxims? The former *Inſtances*, in which they have their ſhare, may *convince* us of the contrary.

Is it to be imagined that a Prince, who *ſignalized* his Entry upon the Stage of publick Affairs with a *breach* of the moſt ſolemn *Oaths* to the contrary, the *Deſtruction* of the Liberties of his *Native* Country, and by *graſping* at a Power which the *Nature*, *Law*, and *Conſtitutions* of that Government denied to his *Character* in it; will be more tender of his *Oaths* to us, and of our *Conſtitution*? His *paſt Conduct* may clear it unto us; we are Strangers to him, and he to us; his Affections, as well as his Birth, are *foreign*; he diſtruſts and deſpiſeth us, as *treacherous* to our former King; he may *Love the Treaſon, but Hates the Traytors*. It is not a *ſingle* Crime can entitle us to his Favour; it is by a *Sacrifice* both of King and Country we can *touch* his Heart; it is only by this *double* Treaſon we can get into his Confidence. The Fate and Diſgrace of thoſe Perſons, who upon this Revolution frankly *ſacrificed* the firſt, but knew not how to *ſubdue* their Scruples as to the laſt, may ſufficiently *prove* this Truth. We have none but our ſelves to blame for this Miſchief: By our *Abdicating* Vote, and ſubſequent Meaſures, our antient, juſt, and legal Government, is deſtroyed and overturned; and in ſo doing, we have diſingaged him from the Promiſes he made in his Declaration, ſince it was only *under a juſt and legal Government that we were aſſured of his Endeavours to preſerve our Laws, Rights, and Liberties*. Let us yet a little farther examine the Benefits we ſhall reap from this Revolution, the Means we have to ſupport it, and what will probably be the Iſſue of all theſe great Tranſactions.

The *malignant* aſpect of our late Meaſures, towards our beloved Rights and Privileges, ſeems to be pretty well cleared already, and ſcarce admits of an *Aggravating* Thought more; unleſs we conſider that we are like to pay the *Price* of a perfect and laſting *Cure*, for downright *Poyſon* and a mortal conſuming *Fever*: But perhaps this Victorious Prince, by his Conqueſts and admirable Conduct, will raiſe the Military Glory of this Nation ſo high, and enlarge her Territories and Command ſo far, as ſhall quite darken and eclipſe the Luſtre and Fame of our greateſt and moſt fortunate

tunate Kings; and thereby alleviate, or quite bury our Senſe and Feeling of paſt, preſent, and future Miſeries. If the *Laurels* and *Conqueſts* of a Monarch, which are firſt drenched in the Tears, and founded upon the Slavery of the People, could atone for ſuch Miſeries, the *French* at this Day would be the happieſt People in *Europe*. This will not paſs upon *Engliſh* Men, who obſerve from their Hiſtories, that the moſt *Victorious* of their Monarchs have always been moſt *tender* and *careful* of their Liberties; and I am afraid that even this faint Comfort ſhall not be afforded us. What reaſon have we to expect, that by the *Conduct* and *Military* Knowledge of a Prince, (againſt whom the Naked and Undiſciplined *Iriſh* made Head for three Campaigns together,) we ſhall be able to gain Towns and Provinces, from the more Numerous, better Diſciplined, and Conducted Troops of *France*? For though the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning a* French *Invaſion*, flatters us with our Victories over the *French* at the *Boyn*, *Athlone*, *Agrim*, and *Limrick*, and from thence foretels our Succeſs in *Flanders*; they were ſtill but Undiſciplined *Iriſh* we ſubdued, with difficulty enough in ſome of theſe Places; and our Victories over the *French* in *Ireland* or *Flanders*, have not as yet burdened our *Gazettes*. We have already expended many Millions of Money, and loſt many Thouſands of Men, and have nothing in return for all this Conſumption of Blood and Treaſure, but the Reduction of *Ireland*; which vigorous and early Meaſures could have ſecured unto us at the begining, and prevented the utter Ruin and Deſolation of that Countrey; and our late Victory at Sea over the *French*, to comfort us for our two former Diſgraces at *Bantry* and *Beachy*, the ſhameful loſs of many of our Navy Royal to the Enemy, the ſeizure of ſo many Hundreds of our Merchant Ships, and our Misfortunes in *Flanders*: Some of our former Princes, with a far leſs Expence of Men and Money, when Affairs were managed with true *Engliſh* Councils, and executed by *Engliſh* Men, have ſubdued whole Provinces, and given Law to *Europe*. But we go now upon Politicks, and are governed by Meaſures, which are Calculated rather for the Intereſt of *Foreign Confederate* Princes, than adjuſted to the Honor, Profit, and Good of *England*. This Confederacy hath coſt us already a great deal of Money; and it's plain, that the particular Intereſts, Ambition, and Pretences of theſe Foreign Princes gave Birth to the Prince's Undertaking, rather than any kind regard to our Religion, Rights and Liberties. It is pleaſant enough to imagine that the *Pope*, the Fathers of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, and the Authors of the *Hungarian* and *Piedmontiſh Perſecutions*, againſt thoſe of our Religion, ſhould be ſo concerned to eſtabliſh the *Proteſtant* Belief amongſt us; and that thoſe Foreign Princes, who have *extinguiſhed* the leaſt ſhadow of Liberty and Property in their own Dominions,

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have such pangs of Conscience, and render Regard for our expiring Liberties. They wanted our Money and our Troops, to carry on their several Pretences; and if they could be still sure of Feasting, and making War at our Expence, the Favour would be as acceptable from the Hands of King *James*, as from the Prince of *Orange*: But the Prince who must stand equally obliged to them for his mounting the Throne, and support in it, was judged a fitter Instrument, more humble, obedient and active, for emptying the English *Treasures* into Dutch *Exchequers*, than ever they could expect from our Natural King, whom they were afraid would be found more ready to a true English *Interest*, than to gratifie their unsatiable and boundless Pretences.

King *James* was a good Husband of his Treasure, and they were afraid would never be induced to part with any of it to them, but for *equivalent* Returns of Glory and Profit to the Nation. They knew the Prince had a weak side, which might be better wrought upon: His towring Ambition, and vast unlimited Desires after Command and a noisy Fame, exposed him continually to the Bait they designed him; which was, to pay him in airy Titles, empty Compliments, and feigned Pretences of Service and Obsequiousness, for our good *English* Gold, and brave *English* Troops. The Plot hath succeeded, and we have paid them very handsomly for the trick they put upon us; we have made vast Issues of Men and Money; we have liberally fed those needy Princes and their Troops; it is probable that more Money will be expected and demanded from us; what are we to have for all this Expence we have already made, and yet can see no end of? What *Cities*, what *Provinces*, are we to have? Is the *French* Navy to be burnt, or put into our hands? Are our old Pretences to the *French* Crown, at least to the Maritime Provinces, to be made good unto us? Or are we to reap nothing but the vain Honour of having contributed towards the Establishment of our Neighbours, by our own Ruine?

The Duties of Neighbourhood are mutual; and suppose them as strong and binding as the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invasion* would make them, they plead as strongly for us as against us: There lies as great an Obligation upon the Confederates, to assist us in the Recovery of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, as upon us to recover the lost Provinces in *Flanders* and upon the *Rhine* for them. No doubt our present King hath taken Care for it in his *Treaties* with the Confederates; if he hath not, it is a plain Discovery That the Interest of Foreigners is dearer to him than that of *England*. How unjust is it to rob us of the fruits of so many Millions spent, and of so many which are in hazard, with our Religion, Liberties, and our *All* to boot? If there be any effectual care taken for this by his Treaties, it were very fit the Nation were made acquainted with it, and that we certainly

tainly knew what we were to have, and what Security the Confederate Princes have given for making good ſuch Treaties; it muſt be more than Words and common Security, that can ballance the real Deeds and Kindneſſes which we are daily conferring upon them.

But I am afraid we have not ſo much as a bare Promiſe of any thing. The *Encreaſe* and *growing* Strength of our Monarchy lies ſo viſibly croſs to the ſeveral Pretences and Intereſts of the Confederates, that they would be *deaf* to any ſuch Propoſal; and the Prince depends too much upon them for the Support of his preſent Title, to preſs ſuch *ungrateful* things. Can any Man of Reaſon believe that the Dutch and the Houſe of *Auſtria* will agree to have the French Fleet put into our hands, which would render us Sovereigns of the Ocean, as well as of the Narrow Seas? Or is it not next to Frenzie, to imagine that the Houſe of *Auſtria* will ever give way that we ſhould recover our antient Footing in *France*, either in whole, or in part; by which ſo many Catholick Cities and Provinces would be ſubjected to Hereticks, the Communication betwixt *Spain* and *Flanders* cut off, by ſhutting up the Channel on both ſides; and our Monarchy put into ſuch a condition as would viſibly *Shock* the ambitious Deſigns of that Houſe; which they would again reſume upon recovery of their loſt Provinces? So that we are not to expect any new *Acquiſitions*, with all this vaſt Expence, but are to reſt ſatisfied with the Honour, or Folly rather, of raiſing the Houſe of *Auſtria* to its antient Greatneſs; and building up a Power which would more fatally threaten us and the reſt of *Europe*, than that which we muſt be at ſuch Pains and Expence to pull down.

If the Proſpect of a ſucceſsful War be ſo little encouraging, what have we to fear and feel from an unfortunate Iſſue? How ſadly may we come to be whipt, when we ſhall be obliged to take back our *Abdicated* Monarch, whether we will or no? There will be nothing then to truſt to for the Safety of our Religion and Liberties, but the good Nature and true Engliſh Temper of a Prince, whom in that Caſe we have injured, ſlighted, and deſpiſed to the laſt degree: Nay, upon the Iſſue of a ſucceſsful War againſt *France*, we may be obliged to undergo the ſame Fate. So far will this War, in any *Event*, be from terminating in an *Eſtabliſhment* of our preſent Settlement, that it doth viſibly *tend* to the contrary. This will appear no Paradox to any Man who doth exactly weigh the different Intereſts and Politicks of the ſeveral States of *Europe*, with Relation to us, and amongſt themſelves. Such a curious and diligent Obſerver will quickly diſcover how much more agreeable King *James*'s Reſtauration would be to the ſecret *concealed Intereſt* of all our Neighbouring States, than the Prince of *Orange*'s preſent Royalty.

The good Intentions of *France* towards it, is not to be doubted. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, after their Preten-

ces upon *France* are satisfied, do certainly become Favourers of King *James*'s Restauration, both upon the account of Religion, and to remove a *Dutch Stadtholder* from being King of *Britain*; thereby to facilitate their antient Pretences upon those revolted Provinces. The *Dutch* will heartily agree to his Restauration, to get rid of their Stadtholder, who presseth so hard upon their Liberties; they will be in no more Fears from *France* from this supposed Issue of the War; and they'll believe the Interest of *England* would always oblige its Monarch to cover and protect 'em from the Ambition of the House of *Austria*. The best Wishes of *Sweden* cannot be wanting, were it only by the Admission of the Prince of *Wales*'s Right to place the Prince of *Denmark* a Remove farther from the Crown; since his Accession to the Royalty amongst us, by Vertue of his Princess's Title, might endanger the Conquests which that Crown hath made upon *Denmark*. And since the Politicks of *Denmark*, with relation to us, are solely level'd at his Brother's Interest; whenever the *Indignities* done to the Prince and Princess of *Denmark* shall oblige them to resume that Duty and Loyalty which is *due* from them to their kind old Father, who is still ready to receive them, and to secure unto them those Advantages which they can never expect from the Pr. of *Orange*; the Concurrence of that Crown towards King *James*'s Restauration can be no longer wanting. I do but hint at things, which are of sufficient Importance to make all true *English Men*, who love their Country and their Liberties, to bethink themselves seriously how to cover and secure all those great and valuable Rights from the Oppression of the P. of *Orange*, the Miseries, Poverties, and Dangers, which will inevitably attend either a successful or unsuccessful War. We have thrown our selves into a *State-Hurricane*, from which there is no way of escaping, but by *restoring* the just and legal Government of this Nation into its *antient* and *unquestioned* Channel.

Having fully established and made out the first three Motives assigned for K. *James*'s Restauration, I shall enquire a little into the fourth and last, *(viz.) the Securing of the* Protestant Religion *for all future Ages*. This appears a great Paradox to the Author of *The Pretences of the French Invasion examined*; at which he falls into Exclamations against Mankind, as the oddest Piece of the Creation, for believing such incredible things. But it is not his bold, impudent, and false Assertions, supported only by empty and noisy Eloquence, which can hide the *Danger* from us, that our *Religion*, as well as our *Liberties* and *Properties* lie under from this *Revolution*. For clearing the Truth and Weight of this Motive, I shall make it evident, That our *Religion* was in no probability of being overturned by K. *James*'s Practices before this Revolution; That it was in our Power to have secured it, even against our Fears and Jealousies, without any *Breach* upon the antient Government; That the Dethroning

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of Monarchs upon the Pretence of *Religion*, hath been fatal and deſtructive to all the ſeveral *Proteſtant* States who attempted it: That according to all appearance, it will be equally fatal in our *Caſe* and Circumſtances: And laſtly, I ſhall make it evident, from a full and diſtinct Anſwer to all the Arguments brought by the Authors againſt King *James*'s Reſtauration, That the beſt, ſureſt, and moſt infallible way, whereby to ſecure the *Proteſtant Religion*, our *Liberties* and *Properties*, upon laſting and durable Foundations, is, by returning to our Duty, and reſtoring our *Abdicated Monarch* by as general a Conſent as he was chaſed away by us.

It is very natural and common with Mankind, and with Princes as well as others, to have ſome more particular Regard towards thoſe of their own Religion; to wiſh them well, and to endeavour their caſe when it lies in their Power; ſo that it was nothing extraordinary to find King *James* labouring to give his Catholick Subjects a Right and Title to that eaſe and Security, which the Laws of the Land had deprived them of. I do not believe that *Liberty of Conſcience* in general, and the covering of People from Perſecution on that ſcore, can be rationally condemned as deſtructive and ruinous to the Proteſtant Religion; we ought to have a better Opinion of the Principles of our Faith, and be better convinced of their Truth and Excellency, than to be afraid to have 'em baffled or ſhaken, much leſs ruined, by the Reaſons of any other Perſuaſion. That Religion which dares not ſhew its Face publickly, and ſtand the ſhock of all its Adverſaries, without ſcreening it ſelf under the Severity of Penal Laws, furniſheth great Suſpicion to curious and prying Men of its weakneſs and inſufficiency: But this, I hope, is not our Caſe; our moſt holy Religion is built upon that Rock of Ages, which can never be ſhaken; is fortified by the Teſtimonies of the Law and the Prophets, and expreſly contained in the Word of God, or derived from thence by clear and neceſſary Conſequences, and can ſubſiſt by its own worth and excellency, without robbing the reſt of Mankind of that Liberty their Birth-right Intitles them to, and enſlaving Conſciences. So that King *James* his Principle about *Liberty of Conſcience*, if duly and legally Eſtabliſhed, will be allowed: But it is the Method we complained of, which diſcovered ſome farther Deſign than bare *Liberty of Conſcience*, and thereby did viſibly threaten our Civil Rights and Liberties, and endanger our Religion.

Why, truly the Meaſures taken were unjuſtifiable; but we know to whoſe Councel and Advice they were owing: The whole was a Plot upon that Prince, to ſpoil the Project of *Liberty of Conſcience*, which would have rivited him in his Throne; and to improve his Inclinations for the Roman Religion to his own ruin and deſtruction. But ſuppoſe ſomething more was intended by ſome, than a bare *Liberty*; perhaps the opening

a Door of Preferment to Catholicks, or the *propagating* that Religion over this Iſland. Such an Undertaking is irrational, fooliſh and deſperate; can never be accompliſhed; and the *impoſſibility* of it is ſo plain and obvious, that no Man who underſtands the World, and knew *England* and Engliſh Men ſo well as K. *James* did, could believe it *practicable*. And as to the *miraculous* and *enterprizing* Faith of Prieſts and new Converts, the Zeal, Folly, and Warmneſs of *their Brains*, will always prevent any *real* Miſchiefs; nay King *James* his Reign, even upon the Suppoſition that it was as bad as is alledged, is an undeniable Proof that the Proteſtant Religion cannot be *undermined*, nor the Popiſh Religion *eſtabliſhed* in theſe Kingdoms, by the Addreſs or Authority of any Prince.

I ſhall give it for granted, That all imaginable Methods were taken for propagating the Popiſh Religion; that they were indulged in the publick Exerciſes of it; that Court Preferments were thrown upon them, merely upon the account of their Religion, without any Virtue or Merit to Entitle them to them; that Proteſtants were abſolutely and upon all occaſions diſcouraged; that it was endeavour'd to make the World believe, that all Favours and Preferments were for the one, and nothing but Diſgraces and Frowns for the other; that there was the greateſt Care, Pains, and Application, in the World, made uſe of, to make the Army and Courts of Judicature. I do believe, by this Suppoſition, I have *out-done* all that the moſt *malicious* Enemies will urge againſt K. *James*; and yet all the World knows what little *Progreſs* was made, how few *Converts* were gained, and how *really weak* their beſt and ſureſt *Precautions* did appear when it came to the Touch. If ſo many of his Subjects, Soldiers and Servants, were prevailed upon by Fears and Jealouſies, which were *maliciouſly* and *induſtriouſly* heightened above what any Reaſon which was given for them could well bear; what muſt then have been the Conſequence, if by real, publick, and undoubted *Diſcoveries*, the King's Intentions to ruine the Eſtabliſhed Religion had been made *unqueſtionably* plain and evident: Nothing leſs than an *univerſal* Defection, and his perpetual *Baniſhment* from the Hearts and Affections of every Engliſh Man, could have followed.

The Catholicks of *Britain* are not one of a hundred; they have neither Heads, Hearts, nor Hands enough to force a National Converſion. As the Proteſtants are the moſt Numerous, ſo the *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* are upon their ſide; their Civil Rights and Liberties are twiſted together with their Religious; and whoſoever ſtrikes at the laſt, muſt infallibly wound the firſt. It is not eaſie to overturn the Laws and *Fundamental* Conſtitutions, whereby *Religious* and *Civil Rights* are ſecured to free born People; we are in Poſſeſſion by our Laws of our Religion, and of that Liberty which *diſtinguiſheth* our Happineſs from that of other Sub-

Subjects; we *love* it, and *know* its true Worth; we value and eſteem our ſelves above other People, upon the account of our *Native Freedoms*, and we will not eaſily *part* with 'em; all Attempts and Deſigns upon them have been unſucceſsful. Ambitious Princes, and Arbitrary Miniſters may be forming Projects and Deſigns, fortifying them the beſt way they can, and making Parties for them; but our *Conſtitution*, together with the *Proteſtant* Religion, which is now become part of it, and our *Laws*, will prove always too *hard* for them at laſt: Nothing can expoſe or betray our Religion and Conſtitution to any danger, but overmuch *fondneſs* in the People to a Prince, who under ſome popular Maſk and Pretence, covers *cloſe* and *fatal* Deſigns againſt either. Let us but examine the preſent condition of our Neighbouring States, and we ſhall find that *Raptures* of Love in the People have *overturned* more Conſtitutions, and *built* up more Deſpotick Governments, than the *Force* or *Addreſs* of Princes could ever do. It is commonly received for a Truth, That *Love is blind* and credulous, and certainly holds good, with relation to a Political Affection. There is a certain allowable *Jealouſie* in the People, which is very conſiſtent with the Duty, Affection, and Reſpect *due* to the Prince; and guards and protects their Laws and Conſtitution. Without ſome *Meaſure* of this Jealouſie, the Conſtitution will be always in danger; and this *Antidote* can never be wanting in the *Proteſtant* Subjects of *Britain*, under a *Popiſh* King: His *Religion* gives us ſuch a lively and active *jealouſie* of him, makes us ſo *watchful*, and puts us ſo much upon our *guard*, that all the *Efforts* of ſuch a Prince, though never ſo dextrous, ſupported by ſo weak and inconſiderable a Party as the Catholicks of *Britain*, can never *endanger* Religion and Liberty. Rather his *Circumſtances* and *Inclinations* to thoſe of his own Religion, their eaſe and quiet, might have been *improved* into farther and more real *Securities* for Religion and Liberty, by a wiſe and diſcreet *Treaty*, orderly *managed* in Parliament.

To all this it may be alledged, That though the Catholicks of *Britain* be not a Party ſufficient to carry on, and effectuate ſuch Deſigns; yet the Forces of the *Hector* of *France* were ſtill at the Command and Service of his Dear and Faithful Ally, for carrying on ſo good and meritorious a Work, as that of Reducing *Great Britain* into the Boſom of the *Roman Church*: This is maliciouſly and artfully enough ſuggeſted; but let us examine it a little. How doth it appear that K. *James* was become ſo loſt to all Reaſon, Morality and Diſcretion, as to reſolve to call in a *French Power* to over-run a Countrey which was his own, and to deſtroy a People who were living peaceably under him; by which, from one of the moſt Conſiderable and Potent Monarchs of *Europe*, he wou'd have become the Leaſt and moſt Contemptible? His refuſal of *French* Troops

Troops and Aſſiſtance, when threatened with a Foreign Invaſion, ſeems to be no great Proof of this; and his betaking himſelf at that time to the Love and Affection of his Subjects, as it was a plain diſcovery he was not Conſcious to himſelf of any real Deſign, which could deſtroy that mutual Love and Confidence betwixt Prince and People, which is a Debt due from the one to the other, however his Meaſures might have been Traduced, or maliciouſly Poyſoned; ſo it may let us ſee how improbable it is to imagine, that a Prince could ever form Deſigns of deſtroying a People whoſe Affections he durſt truſt in ſuch an Extremity. Again, What Reaſon is there to imagine that the French King would be ſo ready to furniſh Troops, and be at the Charge of ſuch a Reformation? He is generally allowed to be a Prince who ſtudies his own Intereſt the moſt of any; and fits all his Maxims, his Conduct and Allyances, exactly to it; and never takes a ſtep, which upon the remoteſt view, may ſeem to *croſs* the Intereſt of his Crown and Monarchy: And if it do appear, as certainly it will to any judicious thinking Man, that the Reducing *Great Britain* to the Boſom of the *Roman Church* may greatly endanger the Crown of *France*, than all fears of a *French Reformation* will fall to the Ground.

The Engliſh Pretences to the moſt conſiderable *Maritime* Provinces, nay upon the Crown of *France* it ſelf, are generally known; and Hiſtories can inform us how troubleſome, how dangerous they were, and how ſucceſsfully many times carried on againſt thoſe Monarchs; partly by the natural Boldneſs, Spirit, and Courage of the *Engliſh*, far ſurpaſſing that of the *French*; but more eſpecially from the Inclination of the *French* themſelves to live under a Government which was ſo much *eaſier*, and more *agreeable* than their own; it being natural for People to covet the ſame Plenty and Freedom, which they ſee are injoyed and poſſeſſed by their Neighbours. Hence it was, that though we loſt all our Footing in *France*, yet ſtill our Forces and Enmity were more dreadful to thoſe Monarchs, than thoſe of any other State in *Europe*, though more conſiderable for its native Strength, and confining by dry Marches upon 'em; and they always Courted our Friendſhip and Allyance, with the greateſt Submiſſions and Applications imaginable: And until the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the French did always chuſe rather to *divert* our Invaſions with their Money and Treaties, than to *encounter* them by Force; being afraid to *graple* with that Power, which they had ſo often felt to their Coſt. Since that time, neither our Friendſhip hath been ſo much Courted, nor our Enmity ſo carefully avoided as formerly. This doth not proceed from the increaſe of the French Power, and decreaſe of ours; though the Revenues and Military Force of *France* be ſtrangely augmented ſince; ours, in proportion, hath received the ſame increaſe: Our Treaſure is augmented; and

that

that being the Sinews of War, quickly furniſheth and maintains every thing elſe: And the other States of *Europe* are, from the Circumſtances of Affairs, better diſpoſed for *Allyances* with us, than ever they were in the time of our *Anceſtors*. So that *France* is but ſtill *France*, and *England* in the ſame Proportion with it, as to Force and Revenue; and in a more promiſing Condition of making *Allyances*, and of being more *uſefully* ſerved by them: Our Pretences are ſtill the ſame, and every whit as Strong and Juſt, and we as willing and deſirous to make Advantage of them; and yet we are in no reſpect ſo formidable to that Crown, as formerly; nor in a Condition to ſhake that State, and make ſuch impreſſions into the Heart of *France*, as our Anceſtors have done: The true Reaſon is our *difference* in Religion; for we being *Proteſtants*, and *France Popiſh*; this ſets the Two Nations at a greater diſtance from mutual Correſpondence and Contrivances, which muſt neceſſarily *preceed* and *occaſion* important Revolutions, than all their former Animoſities, Emulation, and Duty to their natural Prince could ever do. Loyalty to Princes, National Conſiderations, and Point of Honor and Reputation, do many times *give way* to preſent and future Advantages: But when *Religion* and Point of *Conſcience* comes in to gather and cement all thoſe divided Intereſts together, and unite them, as it were, into one bundle, they become the more hard and difficult to overcome. This plain and evident Reaſon cannot eſcape the Knowledge and Reflection of ſo wiſe a Prince, as the *French* King is acknowledged to be. The difference in Religion is a much greater Security to him againſt our Attempts, than his Armies, Fleets, or Strength of his Towns. The Senſe of Religion doth many times rouze and inflame the Courage and Reſolutions of Men, when other humane Conſiderations prove too weak to quicken their drooping Spirits: *Catholicks* will fight to the laſt, to eſcape the Dominion of ſuch as they believe *Hereticks*; when, perhaps, *French* Men would be willing enough to come under the *Engliſh* Government, which is ſo much *eaſier* and *better* than their own. I do not queſtion but this very Conſideration alone, will prove ſtrong enough to keep the French King from endeavouring our Reunion to the *Roman Church*; which would make the Pretences of an *Engliſh* Monarch more dangerous than ever, by our Union with *Scotland*, which formerly gave ſuch notable *Diverſions* to our Forces both at Home and in *France*: That *Prince*'s Diſputes with the *Pope*, for Point of Prerogative, ſhew plainly that he never will endanger his Crown in his own Perſon, or Poſterity, to ſerve the Intereſts and Deſires of the *Papal Chair*; from all which we may ſafely conclude, that the Proteſtant Religion, in *Britain*, was in no great danger of being ruined by King *James*, though really as bad as he was repreſented.

If our Religion and Liberties were placed ſo much out of *Danger* of being overturned, by the Laws and Franchiſes we were then in *Poſſeſſion* of, how much better might we have *eſtabliſhed* them for the future, and *placed* them above the ſhadow of any *Danger*, by embracing and improving the Offers which our lawful Prince made us, of *Carving* out our own Satisfaction and Securities? He was ſurprized with an aſtoniſhing *Defection* of his Subjects, with a *Conſpiracy* of a great many Princes and States againſt him. He knew no place but *France* to retire unto; where he might have a Cover for his Head, but could have no great Expectations of being quickly reſtored to his Throne by a Power which had ſo much other Diverſion. He was unwilling in his *old Age* to go into *Exile*, was very deſirous to leave a perfect Calm to his Son, before his own Death, which by the Courſe of Nature, and the ordinary Deſtiny of his Family, he could not believe was very remote; and had a *Love* and *Kindneſs* to us ſtill, as a Father for his *Diſobedient Children*. All which would have procured us, from our lawful King, a laſting, legal, full, and happy *Settlement*; would have eſtabliſhed our Religion, *bettered* and *ſecured* our Liberties upon *laſting* Foundations, without any *trouble*, and with a great deal of *innocency*. How many crimes would have been avoided by following this Method; and how many more prevented, which will be neceſſary, if we be obſtinate, to ſupport and maintain the *Injuſtice* we have done? How many *Millions* of Money, and how many *Lives* might have been ſaved, or at leaſt more *profitably* employed, by the Conduct and good Husbandry of our *Lawful* King, for the Honor of *England*, reſtraining the unbounded Pretences of ambitious Neighbours, and in giving Peace and Quiet to *Europe*? There is no queſtion, but a King who was ſo unwilling to leave us, and had ſo much of an Engliſh Spirit, would have gone into any Meaſures, with relation to foreign Affairs, that his Parliament ſhould have thought fitting; in which caſe, what returns of Glory and Profit would this Nation and Monarchy have reaped from this Blood and Treaſure, which is now abſolutely loſt and thrown away, and our future Expences and Dangers daily growing upon us, with as little hope of Succeſs? My heart is ſo rent and torn with the thoughts of it, that my Pen is ready to drop out of my hand as I write: But we wantonly longed for an *Abdication*, without examining the true *Value* of what we refuſed, and the *Conſequences* were to follow upon the other Meaſures. We have made a *religious* War of it, which may be fatally *returned* upon us; and we never conſidered that Defections upon Pretences for the Proteſtant Religion, ſeldom or never terminate otherwiſe than by the Deſtruction of *Religion* and *Pretenders* both. It ſeems God Almighty did alwas diſcover more of Paſſion and Worldly Deſigns, than true Zeal for Religion, in thoſe Undertakings; and I am afraid, That ſince we deſerve the

the like Charge, our punishment may be the same, unless by a seasonable and early *Repentance* we prevent it.

The first Example I find in History, is *Zisca*'s War in *Bohemia*, against the Emperor *Sigismond*; which tho' managed as successfully in the beginning as any thing we can flatter our selves with, yet had an end very fatal to the Reformation in that Kingdom. The Civil Wars in *Germany*, managed by the Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, against *Charles* V. had no better Issue; many Imperial Cities and Provinces were lopt off from our Communion, and the principal Actors themselves were remarkable Sufferers by it, and their Families wear the Scars of it to this day. The second Bohemian War, under the Elector *Palatine*, whom they had chosen for their King, was yet more fatal to that Kingdom than the first, and almost ruined the King of *Denmark*, did exceedingly weaken the Protestant Interest in *Germany*, and laid the Foundation for the present Grandeur of *France*, which is so terrible to *Europe* at this time: Upon the Event of that War the Civil Rights and Liberties of the Subject, as well as the Protestant Religion, in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, were entirely ruined and extinguished: The principal Electorate of the Empire, together with the Palatinate of *Bavaria*, were wrested out of a *Protestant*, and placed in a *Popish* Family: Several other Protestant Princes and States were lost; and the French possessed of both the *Alsatias*, which hath since given infinite Disturbances to that Empire. And the *Hungarian* War, commenced first upon pretence of Religion, which came at last to be managed by *Tekely*, hath quite buried the Protestant Religion in *Hungary* and *Transilvania*: And it is very remarkable, That so long as they kept petitioning as Subjects, (*though with Arms in their hands*) for the free Exercise of their Religion, they were constantly Victorious, and got into the absolute Possession of the greatest part of that Kingdom; and might have fully secured their Religion and Liberties by Concessions and Immunities which the Emperor offered them in *repeated* Treaties: And yet no sooner was the Crown given to *Tekely*, and an *Allyance* made with the Turks to support him in it, but by a Series of Misfortunes all the former Successes were *unravelled*, and their Affairs reduced to the miserable Condition we now see them in.

What sad *Alarms* may such Instances give us? How truly do they point out our *Case*, and perhaps our *Fate*? Can any of the above-mentioned Examples discover such plain and visible Marks of Worldly Ambition, Self-interest, and corrupted Designs and Artifices, for their *Original*, as have evidently actuated the Contrivers of and principal Agitators in our *Revolution*? And yet how fatally were they punished? And can we hope to escape? The Emperor *Ferdinand* was in a worse Condition to resist the Elector *Palatine*, backed by the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, countenanced by

Britain and *Holland*; and the preſent Emperor *Leopold* was under harder Circumſtances to ſupport a War againſt his *Hungarian Rebels* and the *Turkiſh Power*, than any that *France* hath to grapple with from *us* and our *Allies*; and yet their numerous *Armies* and ſtrong *Allies* could not ſecure them from thoſe *Miſeries* which did at laſt *overtake* them. There is no way for us to get ſafe from the Precepices we have been walking upon, to retrieve our Religion from the deſperate Danger we have run it into, and to ſettle and ſecure it, but by a *National* returning to our Duty; which will ſufficiently atone for to *General* a Deſection, by reſuming that Treaty we ſo fooliſhly broke off and refuſed, and thereby ſecuring Religion and Property by thoſe Conceſſions which our Sovereign is ſtill ready to grant us: Let us put it *home* to him, and lay it at his own *Door*; let him have it in his Choice to *return* by his People if he pleaſeth; convince him that his Proteſtant Subjects, upon ſecuring their Religion and Liberties, will *repair* their former Errors, by contributing *heartily* towards his Reſtauration: And if he decline to return upon a *Proteſtant* and *Engliſh* Foot, there is an end of the *Controverſie*, and of all *Diſputes* amongſt Proteſtants; for *Religion* and *Liberty* will never be *ſacrificed* by true *Engliſh Men*.

I am come in the laſt place to the Objections, raiſed by the new Authors, againſt King *James*'s Return; which are ſtuffed with virulent, falſe, and ſophiſtical Reaſonings, and in a great Meaſure taken off by what hath been already ſaid. The firſt thing they endeavour to frighten us with, is a *Conqueſt*, and with *Popery* and *Slavery*, as the neceſſary Conſequences of it; ſince it is impoſſible K. *James* can return otherways, becauſe K. *William* will not Abdicate. I abhor the thoughts of *Conquering* my native Countrey, as much as any Man; more it ſeems than the Author of *A Letter to a Friend*, who would allow of it in the Perſon of K. *William*; and I am againſt it in any Caſe. But by whom are we to be *Conquered*; and to whom muſt the *Conqueſt* belong? Are we to be Conquered by ſuch Troops as King *James*, in point of Prudence, and according to the practiſes of all Ages in the like Caſe, muſt bring with him for the Defence of his Perſon, and the untying of that Force which the Prince hath put upon us? I know no reaſon, why it may not be as lawful for K. *James* to bring Fifteen Thouſand Men to aſſiſt him in recovering his Throne, as it was for the P. of *O.* to bring the like number to chaſe him out of it; and that without giving any Jealouſie to us of a Conqueſt. Thrice that Number were too few to make a Conqueſt of this Iſland; and I hope they will be ſo well ſeconded, and ſo far out-numbred by the Acceſſion of his own Subjects, upon a feeling Diſcovery of the Prince of *Orange*'s Tyranny, as well as of the Injuſtice done their King, as may juſtly ſtamp it a *Revolution* brought about by Engliſh Men, who have Conquered their *Paſſions*, and not their *Countrey*;

trey; *rescued*, and not *enslaved* the Nation; and who have *preserved*, and not *endangered* their Religion.

Is this imaginary *CONQUEST* to make us Slaves to the Fr. King, or Catholicks and Slaves to K. *James*? I cannot believe the first: For I do not think K. *James* so much in love with the French King, as to make him a Present of Three Crowns to the prejudice of Himself and his Posterity; and so become either his *Subject*, or his *Vassal*. These are suppositions fit only to pass upon Children, deserve no serious Answer, and plainly shew the weakness of the Cause, which can furnish no better Reasons wherewith to defend it. As to the last; The French King will never force us to be Catholicks, for the Reasons already assigned; and it doth as little agree with his Interest, to have us Slaves to our Monarch. Friendships are seldom lasting amongst Neighbouring Princes, rarely continue during their own Lives, and are never transmitted to their Posterities; so many Reasons and Jealousies of State are falling in, which occasion frequent and unavoidable Breaches: And a King of *England*, who is Absolute and Master of his Subjects, would be a great deal more troublesome and dangerous to *France* than otherways; and so it is not very probable that that Monarch will ever contribute to make us a *Conquest* to King *James*, and introduce *Popery* and *Slavery* amongst us. There is one sure way to prevent this danger of Conquest, and that is by the vigorous endeavours of every English Man, to repair the Injury done to our *Abdicated Monarch*. King *William*'s unwillingness to *Abdicate*, which these Authors threaten us with, can't put a stop to it: His Breaches upon our *Laws* and *Constitution*, and his violation of the *Original Contract* made with himself deserve it; and it is not all his *Partisans* and *Troops*, can cover him from *Abdication* whenever the People of *England* thinks fit to declare it.

We are told next by these Authors, *That* K. James *is become so in love with the French Government, that we shall never so much as have his promise for securing our Religion and Liberties, even though we have no reason to depend upon that, or any other Security he can give us; since he hath undertaken to the* Pope *and* K. *of* France *to make void all when he is upon his Throne; and that it is visible from his Carriage in* Ireland *to the Protestants there, that neither the sad Example of* K. Charles *the First, who suffered for the like Attempts towards Arbitrary Power, nor the fresh Remembrances of his own Misfortunes, will ever oblige him to lay aside his Arbitrary Designs: And however instrumental Protestants may be in his return, that Pardon for their former Failings is all can be expected from him, without obtaining the least kind regard to their Religion or Liberties on that Score.*

I would gladly know upon what Grounds they assert, that K. *James* will grant no Security at all for Religion and Liberty? Have they made the Experiment, and been

refuse it? It is not bare Affirmation can convince us of the Truth of it since we are assured to the contrary. I have heard of a Scotch Plot for Restoring King *James*; the particulars of it I am not acquainted with: Only I have been told, *That upon the Application of some few Gentlemen of that Nation unto him, he frankly granted them, under the Broad Seal of* Scotland, *all that was proposed for the security of Religion and Liberty; and agreed to several Immunities which the P. of* O. *refused that Nation, though he was solemnly engaged to grant them when the Crown of that Kingdom was tendered unto him.* Here is more than a bare Promise; the Concessions are passed under the Broad Seal, and granted by him, when his Affairs were in Promising Circumstances, at the desire of a few Gentlemen who had been active against him, and who could make no such considerable Addition unto his Party, as might induce him to it; unless his own *Inclinations*, when free from the *pressure* of *designing* Ministers, and *readiness* to rectifie whatever was *grievous* to the People, had put him upon it. Can it be doubted after this, that he will deny any thing that is necessary for the good and happiness of his Subjects whenever they apply seriously unto him for it?

But he must make good his Engagements to the Pope *and King of* France, *and make void all when he remounts the Throne, which his hard Circumstances obliged him to grant.* If this were made plain unto us, there would be a great deal of weight in it; all the Evidence we have for it is the *Veracity* of the Author, which goeth no great length; being founded only upon Supposition, that he could not be countenanced by those Princes without such an Engagement. This is an Argument that concludes more forcibly against themselves; since it is reasonable to imagine, that more solemn and sacred Engagements in favour of the *Holy Chair*, and a *Conviction* of more punctual and ready Performances, were necessary to induce the *Pope*, and so many *Popish* Princes to countenance a *Protestants* mounting the Throne, to the prejudice of a *Papist*.

I am yet to learn what were the great Merits of the Irish Protestants since the Revolution, the fresh Obligations laid upon him, and what were the new Discoveries he gave us there of his hatred to Protestants, and irregular Arbitrary Courses. I have seen a Book written by Dr. *King*, which these Authors refer us to, as sufficient Evidence to make good their Charge; but it is so scandalously and notoriously False, and stuffed with so many gross Errors, and willful Mistakes, in point of History and matter of Fact, even in many things which fall under my own Knowlege, that the Doctor seems to have Calculated his Book for a Virulent false Libel; thereby to merit some Benifice from this Government, rather than for our Information by a true and impartial History: And the World shall be obliged with a particular Account of his Falshoods and Calumnies, by a full and impartial

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Account of those Transactions. But to come close home to the Charge; Did not the Irish Protestants generally declare for the Prince of *Orange*? Did they not actually either appear in Arms for the Prince, or quit the Kingdom? And those who stayd, were they not rather lookers on than actors, or any ways useful towards the asserting the King's Rights? I do not design this as a *Satyr* against the Protestants of *Ireland*; the Measures taken there gave them much better grounds for their Fears than any we can pretend: But only to shew that the Protestants of *Ireland* contributed no Endeavours towards his Restauration, but run generally along with the Stream against it; and so cannot be said to have made any new Experiment of his Kindness to, and grateful Sense of Obligations performed by Protestants. They never desired, or obtained, any new Securities for their Religion and Liberties, upon the account of Services performed for him; and so have no *fresh Breaches* of Promise to charge upon him, as our Authors do insinuate, whereby to deter the Protestants of *Britain* from contributing towards his Restauration.

On the contrary, we have a very convincing Argument, from his Care of his Protestant Subjects there, tho' either actually Enemies, or at best but idle Spectators; and his constant Endeavours to protect them from the Insults and Fury of the *Irish*, of whom he was not fully Master; to convince us of the *Gratitude* and *kind* Returns we may expect from him, when at liberty, and *obliged* by our Services to express them. How carefully did he preserve their Estates and Goods? With how much Tenderness did he give free Passage to the Women and Children from *Londonderry*, when by denying it, he must infallibly have carried the Town? With what exact Discipline did he Govern an Army, serving without Pay, untill King *William*'s Protestant reforming Troops, which were under Pay, by their unheard of Plunderings, Robberies, and Oppressions, committed upon the poor Protestants within their Lines, gave such Examples of Insolence and loose Discipline, that the *Irish* could be no longer restrained, as formerly; tho they never acted so extravagantly as the others. And I dare appeal to all the *Irish* Protestants, if the greatest part of the Ruine of that miserable Country be not due to the Plunderings, Abuses, and want of Discipline in King *William*'s Army; which, though Protestant, and Reformers, did far outdoe the wild *Irish* in desolating the Country, without regard to Friend or Foe: And I have heard many *Irish* Protestants affirm, That their Preservation and Protection was due to King *James*'s own particular Care over them.

As to the Proceedings of the Irish Parliament, he did so much wrestle against them, was so little Master of himself and Actions, and so much in the hands of *Irish*, that he is rather to be pitied than blamed for them: And 'tis very hard and unreasonable, that when a King is forced from a Throne by his *Protestant* Subjects, and opposed

poſed by them in his Endeavours after the Recovery of his Inheritance, and ſo neceſſitated to betake himſelf to the Aſſiſtance, Protection, and Services of Catholicks, unleſs he would renounce his undoubted Rights, which neither the Laws of God nor Man oblige him to; That Acts of Grace, which his *Circumſtances*, and the *Neceſſity* of their *Aſſiſtance* forced from him, ſhould be charged upon him as Crimes. *Let us labour for his Reſtauration; let us get him into our own hands, and deliver him from that cruel Neceſſity which carries him farther than his Inclinations would otherwiſe do; and whenever he is at liberty to act as an* Engliſh Man, *he will convince us that he is ſuch.*

The Treatment that *Charles* I. met with is a ſad Inſtance of the Vanity of all human Greatneſs, and a laſting Reproach to our Nation; but reacheth a more pertinent and appoſite Reproof to King *William*'s Conduct than King *James*'s. The moſt conſiderable and important points which occaſioned thoſe fatal Diſputes betwixt that Prince and his People, were illegal Impriſonments, the undue refuſal of Liberty to Priſoners upon Bail, the free Quarterings and Plunderings of Soldiers, and the unwarrantable exacting of Money from the Subject, without Conſent of Parliament. Are not all theſe illegal and arbitrary practices frequently *repeated* in this Government, and without any Precedent from K. *James*'s Reign?

The many Pages employ'd by the Author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invaſion*, to prove, *That the Non ſwearing* Proteſtants, *as well as others, can merit nothing by their Endeavours for the King's Reſtauration, but a bare* Pardon *at moſt*, diſcovers more Logick, and Method in dividing of his Text, than true, ſolid and convincing Reaſon: For ſince a few *Scotch* Gentlemen, who had acted warmly and vigorouſly againſt him, and could contribute but little to his Service, were able to procure not only *Pardon*, but thoſe great and important *Securities* for their Religion and the Liberties of their Country, which K. *William* had refuſed to the Deſires and Addreſſes of a Parliament, that had given him the *CROWN*, and *pre-engaged* his Conſent before the *Gift*: Is it to be imagined, That ſo many worthy Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and Inferiour Clergy, who have teſtified ſo much Zeal, Firmneſs and Fidelity, by their Sufferings, joyn'd with the early Repentance and vigorous Endeavors of others for his Service, who have been hitherto blinded and miſled, will not *prove* of more Weight, Importance, and Conſideration, with him; be as *kindly* treated, and their *Country* for their ſakes: Or rather, will not all Securities for Religion and Liberty be granted, from a due Regard to their Application, as well as from his own Inclination? Neither is it to be feared that any of their former Meaſures, which unhappily and accidentally have contributed towards that Ferment which begot this Revolution, will be remembred againſt them; ſince the King is ſenſible how far he himſelf was impoſed upon, as well

well as his Subjects, by the Cunning and Artifice of wicked and corrupted Miniſters which were about him. And whatever Jealouſies this Author may labour to infuſe into the Minds of People, of the firey and looſe Principles of the *Jacobites*, with Relation to the *Proteſtant* Religion, Church of *England*, and *Engliſh* Liberties; there are *Jacobites*, whoſe Principles are better, more fixed and rational, who have already, and will upon all occaſions never fail to give greater and more generous Teſtimonies of their Zeal and Affection for the *Eſtabliſhment* and *Security* of thoſe great Concerns, than any can be brought by our *preſent* Miniſters and *topping* Reformers; and who will never be found with this Author in juſtifying a *Conqueſt* of their native Countrey.

The Caution which is given us againſt another Revolution, leſt the Monarchy receive more vigour from a Reſtauration, than is convenient for the Liberties of the Subject, which the Author fortifies from an Inſtance in the Return of *Charles* II. at which time, betwixt zeal, flattery and fear, the King encreaſed in Power, and the People loſt their Liberties; concludes very ſtrongly againſt himſelf, and for what I have been all along preſſing. If we do but conſider the true reaſon of thoſe Conceſſions made in favour of the Monarchy, upon the Return of K. *Charles*, the Nation was ſo wearied out, exhauſted and undone, by the Tyrannies and Executions, Taxes, Impriſonments, and other arbitrary Courſes againſt their Liberties and Properties, that were practiced during that Anarchy which intervened betwixt the Murther of the Father and Return of the Son, that upon a Proſpect of ſome Relief, by the re-eſtabliſhment of the antient Monarchy, the People fell into ſuch *Raptures* of Joy, which never fail of making Subjects ſo liberal to Princes, as many times occaſions a hearty but late Repentance. If K. *William* continue a little longer to oppreſs our Liberties, and drein our Purſes; or if the Title of *Conqueſt* be advanced, we ſhall be infallibly expoſed to the like hazard again; which cannot be prevented, but by an early *Return* to our Duty, whilſt we have ſome Patience, Wit and Money, left, to enable us to take *care* of our ſelves and our Poſterity.

The hard and difficult Queſtions which this Author thinks he hath gravelled us with, and the obligation of the Oaths of Allegiance to K. *William*, come next to be conſidered. The firſt Queſtion is, *VVhether we think our ſelves bound in Conſcience to fight for* Popery *againſt the* Proteſtant *Faith*. I Anſwer, *No*; nor doth this Anſwer make any thing for King *VVilliam*, ſince in no Senſe can the fighting for the Reſtauration of King *James* be called the fighting for *Popery* againſt the *Proteſtant* Religion; for it is both K. *James*'s Intereſt and his Inclination to return upon a *Proteſtant* Foot; and by aſſiſting him in it, we *vindicate* the Honor of our Religion, and *reſcue* it from the Dangers which *threaten* it from this Reign.

The ſecond Queſtion is, *Whether we think our ſelves bound in Con*

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ſcience to fight for our Prince againſt the Laws and Liberties of our Countrey. I Anſwer in the Negative; and we do aſſure the World, That it is from a tender regard to our Laws and Liberties, as well as from a ſenſe of Duty, to repair the injury done our Exiled Prince, that we reſolve to contribute to his return. The antient Conſtitution was broke in upon by the *Abdication*, and our Laws, Rights and Liberties, have been more eminently and ſignally over-run during the P. of *Orange*'s Kingſhip, than by any of our moſt Violent and Arbitrary Princes, even when he was under the greateſt Obligation, cleareſt and moſt diſtinct Barriers placed againſt it; and we are poſſeſſed with reaſonable Fears, nay a certainty of having 'em quite ruined and extinguiſhed by his future Conduct, which layeth an Obligation upon all true Engliſh Men to repair theſe Breaches made upon the Conſtitution, and to vindicate and reſtore their oppreſſed and ruined Laws and Liberties, by returning K. *James* and the P. of O. into their proper and reſpective Stations.

But we are deſired and preſſed *to have ſome Care of the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of* Chriſt, *which will be viſibly endangered by the King's Reſtauration all* Europe *over*; *and to a due Regard for the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in* Europe, *which will be ſacrificed by it*; *That this ought to be more tenderly minded by us, ſince we are Citizens of the World*; *and ſo the Good of Mankind, or the greateſt part of it, layeth a more Sacred Obligation upon us, and is to be preferred to the particular Intereſt of our own Prince and Country.* The Security of Religion is a Duty never to be forgotten by good Proteſtants, and is never to be endangered and deſperately hazarded by honeſt Men. But, alas! this hath been little regarded by our *late Reformers*. Have they not quite *unhinged* our Conſtitution, of which the Proteſtant Religion was become a-part? Have they not already, and are they not in a fair way to *ruine* our Laws and Liberties, which are the beſt *Fences* about our Religion? After we are become *Slaves*, we may quickly be made any thing elſe; the multitude of new Converts in *France*, is an undeniable Inſtance of this. Have they not *unneceſſarily* expoſed the Proteſtant Religion, to the hazard of a rude and uncertain War; from the commencement of which, we can form no great hopes of a Succeſsful Iſſue, and that in Conjunction with *Allies*, who are the greateſt *Enemies* of our Religion; who when their particular Intereſts have been ſerved by our Blood and Treaſure, will certainly give us the ſlip, and nick ſome Opportunity, which our preſent Circumſtances can never fail to furniſh them with, of *Eſtabliſhing* themſelves at the *Expence* of our Religious and Civil Rights and Liberties? And finally, have we not dethroned our King, upon the account of his Religion; by which we have commenced a *religious* War, which may come to be fatally *retorted* upon us, and may endanger the whole Proteſtant Religion in *Europe*.

A religious War is carefully to be avoided by Proteſtants, ſince they are the weakeſt; and no Pretence ought to be furniſhed to the Catholicks for the like Meaſure: For thô particular Animoſities and Intereſt ſeem to divide them at preſent, how quickly may theſe be adjuſted by the Neceſſities of one of the contending Parties, and how eaſie will it be then for the Pope to unite them together under the Banners of Religion, to give us, and the Proteſtants of *Europe*, a *Rowland* for our *Oliver*? This is no *Chimera* or Dream; but we may probably expect to ſee and feel it. A far weaker Pretence, *viz.* the Union eſtabliſhed amongſt the Proteſtants of *Germany*, at *Leipſick* and *Smalcald*, gave Birth to the Catholick League there; which over-run all the Proteſtants, forced ſeveral Princes and Cities from their Communion, and endangered *Denmark*. It is upon ſuch weighty Conſiderations, and to prevent the danger which threatens the Proteſtant Religion both at home and abroad, from our late Meaſures, that all true *Engliſhmen* and good Proteſtants ought to endeavour the Reſtauration of our King.

As to the Caution given us to beware how we ſacrifice the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in *Europe*; the greateſt part of the Princes and States of *Europe* are not engaged in this War againſt *France*, and conſequently in no danger by it: The two Northern Crowns, *Moſcovy* and *Poland*, *Portugal*, all the Princes and States of *Italy*, except *Savoy*, together with the *Switzers*, are in perfect Peace with *France*; and ſo the Suppoſition of this Author is abſolutely falſe; the Original and Ground of this War is purely private Conteſts betwixt the Crown of *France* and Houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſuch other Princes as that Houſe can draw into their Intereſt. Do we not ſee that the Princes of *Germany* themſelves, who ſeem to have the moſt immediate Concern in it, and ſhould underſtand and be more alarmed at the Conſequences of it than we, do but make Merchandiſe of their Aſſiſtance, and engage in and withdraw from this War, as it contributes moſt to their particular Intereſts, and according as they are beſt paid by the ſeveral Principals? Do not the Northern Crowns, whoſe Territories and Provinces lie more expoſed to the Conſequences of this War than our Iſlands, maintain an exact Neutrality, which will give their Subjects Poſſeſſion of the beſt part of the Trade of *Europe*? We are the only Fools who have been prevailed upon to engage inconſiderately in this War, to be at the greateſt Charge of it, to drein our Blood and Treaſure, and to hazard our Religion and Liberties by it, without ſo much as propoſing any Return to ballance this Expence and Danger. Our Conduct is ſuch an Inſtance of Folly and Madneſs, as amazeth the preſent, and will not find Credit in future Ages.

As to the Maxim eſtabliſhed by the Author, upon which he buildeth all his fine Reaſoning, it is falſe and Phanatical to perfection. Can any Man in his right Wits aſſert That the Intereſt of our Prince and Country muſt

give place to the Intereſts of other States, ſuppoſe them to be the greateſt part of Mankind? Much leſs then to thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is the preſent Caſe. Muſt the Intereſt of the Britiſh Monarchy be poſtponed to the Intereſt of the Mahometan and Pagan Countries, which make the greateſt part of Mankind: Or muſt the Intereſt of *Britain*, and ſo of the Proteſtant Religion, which makes a part of it, give way to the Intereſt of the Pope and Catholick Princes, which make the greateſt part of *Europe*? We may quickly gueſs what our Fate would be by following ſuch a Rule, and may eaſily be perſuaded that the Cauſe muſt be very bad, which requires ſuch wretched Maxims and Reaſonings to ſupport it.

The laſt Queſtion is, Whether we would think our ſelves bound to fight for him, did we believe he would promote the ſame Deſigns he did before; and what we would think our ſelves obliged to do in the like caſe, and under the ſame Circumſtances, after he had remounted the Throne. The Anſwer is plain and obvious: By this Revolution, and the Conſequences of it, the Prince of *Orange*'s Ambition, and ſhare in theſe Meaſures with which K. *James* was loaded, being ſufficiently diſcovered to the World; together with the Roguery of thoſe Miniſters, who to ſerve the Prince's Deſign forced the King unwillingly enough upon thoſe Steps which we complained of, with a deſign to ruine him; by the *Reſtauration*, and *Puniſhment of thoſe Miniſters*, the *King* and *People* both will be ſafe from any repeated Aſſaults of the Prince's Ambition, being ſo well cautioned by the firſt; and ſucceeding Miniſters will be terrified from ſuch Infidelities for the future. The Author ſuppoſeth a Caſe which will not probably fall out, and ſo is not weighty enough to reſtrain us from aſſiſting our King in the recovery of his Rights, which poſitive Duty obligeth us unto. And whenever the like Caſe occurs, ſuch corrupt Miniſters, who adviſe ſuch Meaſures, will become a more juſtifiable and eaſier Sacrifice, for the averting ſuch Dangers, than our antient Government and Conſtitution. And it is pleaſant enough to imagine that wiſe and thinking Men can be impoſed upon to continue under much more weighty Oppreſſions, greater and more viſible Dangers, threatning both *Religion* and *Liberty*, by K. *William*'s Government, from a fear we may again fall under thoſe leſſer Evils which we ſuffered under K. *James*, and which were due rather to the Contrivances of the P. of O. than the King's own depraved Inclinations. And whereas it is complained, *That ſuch Pangs of Loyalty are unſeaſonable now, and ſhould rather have been employed for keeping him in his Throne, than reſtoring him to it*; why, truly few People did ſuſpect that the Prince did really deſign what he ſo ſeriouſly and ſolemnly declared againſt; and every Man was ſtruck into a State Lethargy by the ſuddenneſs of the Prince's Attempt, the wonderful Succeſs it met with in the beginning, and the charming Wheedle

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of ſecuring Liberty and Property; which we are ſadly and ſeverely rowzed from at laſt, by unſpeakable Oppreſſions, by the expiring Groans of Liberty and Property, and by the dreadful View of thoſe Miſeries, which threaten us from all hands and in all Events.

As to the Obligations we lie under from the Oaths of Allegiance to the preſent Government, the Author himſelf acknowlegeth, That if we be convinced that our Oaths to King *James* are ſtill binding upon us, the Obligation of the ſecond is voided by it, which is a plain enough Anſwer to his own Argument; eſpecially when we conſider, that K. *William*'s manifeſt Infractions of that *Original Contract* which we made with him, upon the maintaining and preſerving of which our Allegiance was expreſly founded, doth evidently and unanſwerably diſſolve and make void the Obligation of our Oaths, and much better ſolves all Scruples upon that head, than Dr. *Sherlock*'s *Providential Reaſoning*. And whereas it is aſſerted by this Author, That Allegiance can never be expounded to a lower Senſe, than to live peaceably under the preſent Government, thô we will not fight for it; and not to attempt any thing againſt their Perſons or Crowns, not to hold Correſpondence with their Enemies, nor to give any aſſiſtance to K. *James* for the recovery of his Thrones; in this he hath forgotten their own Practiſe: For our *Reformers* have taught us, That Allegiance may be expounded to a much lower Senſe, even to the *Abdicating* the Monarch to whom the Allegiance was due, to the filling of his Throne, and transferring of that Allegiance to another; and would take it very ill to be charged with Perjury for it. *Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione loquentes?*

We are exhorted by our Authors to beware of contributing towards K. *James*'s return, leſt we engage our Countrey in a Civil War, and all the dreadful Conſequences of it; the Deſtruction of our People, the utter Conſumption of our Eſtates, the burning of our Houſes, the Raviſhing of our Wives and Daughters, the Extirpation of Families by Sword or Halter, and the utter Ruining our Cities, Towns and Villages, are the infallible Conſequences of it. The mighty deluge of Blood which was ſhed, and the unſpeakable Miſeries which overwhelm'd this Nation, during the ſtruggle betwixt the *Two Roſes*, and our Conteſts with King *Charles* I. are undeniable Proofs, and may convince us how fatal and deſtructive it is to beget and eſtabliſh a Competition of Titles to the Crown, and to dethrone Monarchs: And the Calamities which over-run *France* and *Germany* by the Civil Wars, which begun upon the Account of Religion, may let us ſee how diſpleaſing it is to God Almighty, to have Religion made a cover for ambitious and private Deſigns. This Civil War is already Commenced, and we have eſtabliſhed thoſe Grounds and ſowen that Seed, from which we ſhall not fail to reap a plentiful Harveſt of Blood and Ruine, without a ſpeedy

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and vigorous Prevention: Nay we have been ſo fond of entailing certain Miſery upon our Selves and Poſterities, that we have coupled together two of the ſtrongeſt Motives in the World for a rude and laſting War; *viz.* repeated Breaches in the Royal Line and Succeſſion, and the vacating the Throne upon the pretence of Religion; either of which ſeperately hath never failed to ruine whole Nations, Provinces and Cities. It is obvious at whoſe Door this is to be Charged; they who forced away their King, upon the account of his Religion, inverted the Nature of our Monarchy and the Succeſſion, and refuſed all Treaties and Securities which were offered them, have laid infallible Foundations for thoſe Miſchiefs; and they who wiſh and labour for the return of the King, are the only true and skilful Phyſitians who clearly diſcover, and are willing to apply the moſt proper, nay only Cure, which remains for our Diſeaſe: And the Authors Reaſonings from the Miſeries of a Civil War, doth evidently Arraign their own Practiſes; and concludes moſt forcibly againſt themſelves as the Promoters of it, ſince it is not to be ſuppoſed, that a juſt Right and Title is to give place to Force and Uſurpation, and fall a Sacrifice to thoſe Neceſſities which we firſt bring our ſelves under, and then plead for our Excuſe.

In the laſt place we are cautioned againſt the King's return, from the intolerable Payments we muſt come under, for refunding thoſe Sums which he hath borrowed of *France*, to maintain Himſelf, to keep *Ireland*, and to diſcharge the Forces that come to thruſt him on us; which will prove a Ten times greater Tax for many Years, than thoſe we pay for the ſupport of this *Government*, which are not conſiderable, reckoning the abatement of *Chimney-Money*; and are much eaſier than what the French are accuſtomed to; and that we have paid as much formerly for aſſiſting *France* to ruine *Europe*, and maintain Vice at home; and ſo may be very well ſatisfied with our preſent Payments which delivers *Europe*, and ſecures our native Countrey and Religion from utter Deſtruction. Our celebrated Authors could not have finiſhed their fine Pieces with Reaſonings, which more perfectly reſembled the Pretences, Motives, and Grounds of this Revolution, by their Weakneſs, Falſhood, and Prevarications.

How well our preſent Payments ſecure our native Countrey and Religion from Deſtruction, may appear from the ruine of *Ireland*, the Plunderings and free Quarters practiſed in *Britain*, the Breaches made upon our ancient *Monarchy* and *Conſtitution*, whereby a War is entailed upon *Us* and our *Poſterity*; from the Violences done to our *Laws*, *Rights* and *Liberties*, and *Original Contract* made with *K. William*; and from the preſent viſible and eminent Dangers which our *Religion* and *Liberties* are threatned with, by any probable Iſſue of this War, under a Prince, who hath quite overturned the Liberties

berties of his own native Countrey, made fair advances towards the ruine of ours; and was never yet Succesful in any Enterprise he undertook, except when he invaded his Father in Law, contrary to all Divine and Humane Rules, (which perhaps God designed as a Scourge to these Nations for our Sins,) and when he fought *Luxemburgh*'s Outguards, at St. *Denis*, with the Peace in his Pocket, contrary to the publick Faith and Law of Nations, as if he were Predestinated to be Successful only in Crimes, but unfortunate in heroick, brave, and generous Actions; such as restraining the ambitious Encroachments of Princes, and vindicating the Rights and Liberties of oppressed Nations; having always practised in his own Case, what he pretended to reform in another's.

How little the Deliverance of *Europe* is carried on by our present Payments, is but too evident from the growing Successes of *France* in *Flanders*, and the taking their most considerable Towns and Fortresses in the sight and under the nose of our present Monarch and those mighty Confederate Armies. It is equally false, to insinuate, That our Payments during King *Charles* the Second's Reign bore any proportion with the Taxes under this; and that they were employed only for assisting *France*, to ruine *Europe*: For the Subsidies we have already paid to this K. (which Sir *Edward Seymor*, who might very well know it, assured the House of Commons, did amount to 18 Millions, before the last Impositions which were granted) do far exceed all the Taxes paid to K. *Charles*, joyn'd with the several Payments made to our *Edwards*, our *Henries*, and our *Elizabeth*, who raised the Honour and Reputation of this Nation so high, and spread our Conquests so far: And it was to King *Charles* his Authority and Mediation, the Peaces of *Aix-la-Chapelle* and *Nimiguen* were due, which put then a Stop to the *French* Carreer: And I am afraid our present Payments will very hardly bring about a Peace again, upon the Foot of those Treaties; and we are to take it as a very great Favour, for which we are to be thankful to God and our present King, if the Taxes we pay during this Government, fall any thing short of the *French* Oppressions; and Four Millions a Year, over and above an Allowance for the Abatement of *Chimney-Money* and the ordinary Revenues of the Crown, are but inconsiderable Payments in the opinion of these Authors. It seems their Court Preferments are great and rich, that they are so little sensible of those Taxes, which are already become so heavy to this Nation, and of which we see no end.

But *the growing Debt to the French King for those Sums already spent upon K. James's Subsistance, and the defence of* Ireland, *and to be farther Expended for his Restauration, will quite sink and undo this Nation.* It appears that these Authors take it for granted, That the mercenary Temper of the Dutch, in demanding and obtaining Satisfaction for their Expences, which out of

a tender regard forſooth to our Liberties they beſtowed upon our Deliverance, will be exactly copied by other Princes: But this is the firſt Inſtance of ſuch Merchandiſe; and it is not to be believed, that great Princes who ſtudy Fame, and tenderly regard their Honor and Glory, will imitate ſo baſe an Example. But ſuppoſe they ſhould; our Author is as wide in his Eſtimate of this Expence, as in his other Reaſonings. We are frightned with a Charge Ten times bigger, for many Years, than our preſent Payments, and yet will very much fall ſhort of the half of one Years Tax we pay now. The Sums ſpent upon the King's Subſiſtence and *Ireland*, doth not amount to Three hundred thouſand *Luidores*; and as for the Charge of his return I wiſh, and heartily pray, that all true Engliſh Men would unanimouſly concur together, to prevent the pretence of demanding any ſuch Charges, the neceſſity of Foreign Troops, and even the remoteſt Fears of French Popery and Slavery, by returning our King with as general a Conſent as he was forced from us; which will vindicate the Proteſtant Religion from the reproach of Depoſing Principles, and eſtabliſh it for the future; will reſettle the ancient Monarchy, and Conſtitution of this Nation upon its old Baſis; will repair the Injury done to our lawful King, whereby we may legally obtain thoſe Securities for our Religion and Liberties, which we are Courting unſucceſsfully amidſt ſo many deſperate Dangers and Difficulties; will infallibly relieve us from the weighty Oppreſſions and manifeſt Infractions of our choiceſt and moſt valuable Rights, which we at preſent feel, and have ſo much reaſon to be apprehenſive of for the future; will deliver us from the heavy Burthen of ſo many Taxes, which we have already paid, and which yet muſt be continued if we deſign to ſupport a crazy and unjuſt Settlement any longer; which, after all our Blood and Expence muſt certainly fall to the ground, and give place to the natural Force and Weight of our ancient Government and Monarchy; to the juſt Title and undoubted Rights of our lawful Sovereign and his Poſterity; to the Love, Affections, and native Inclinations of Engliſh Men when the preſent fit is over; and to the Intereſts of our Neighbouring Princes and States, which lie viſibly croſs unto it, ſo ſoon as their preſent Differences are at an end: And laſtly, by this Method we ſhall be ſecured againſt thoſe fatal Influences upon our Liberties, which never fail to accompany all forced, irreſiſtable, and unexpected returns of Exiled Monarchs.

I do humbly beſeech Almighty God, That of his Infinite Mercy, for the good of theſe Nations and of all *Europe*, he would open the Prince of *Orange*'s Eyes, give him a ſight and diſcovery of the Vanity as well as Injuſtice of poſſeſſing his Father's Throne; and incline his Heart to eſtabliſh Religion and Liberty among us,

us, and give Peace to all *Europe*, by doing an Act which would bury in Oblivion the famed Inſtances of *Dioclesian* and *Charles* V. and immortalize his Name, even by reſtoring his old Father to his Right and Inheritance: Was it really the Danger our Religion and Liberties were in which put him upon coming to *Britain*, this would be an infallible way fully to ſecure them by new Laws and Conceſſions, againſt which there lay no Objection: Or was it to put himſelf at the head of the *Britiſh* Forces, thereby to give a Check to the towring Ambition of the *French* Monarch, this would more effectually do it; for either that King would think himſelf obliged, out of Gratitude to a Prince who is truly a Martyr for a ſuppoſed *French* League, to give a reaſonable Peace to *Europe*, in order to King *James*'s Reſtauration; or by a Refuſal, our King was at Liberty to conſult his own Intereſt, and to unite with the Confederates by the Advice of Parliament; which would make ſuch a general and vigorous Application of the *Engliſh* Forces that way, without any fear of Domeſtick Diſtraction, as would quickly oblige that great Monarch to give ear to Reaſon, and a Peace to his Neighbours: And the Glory of having given Peace to *Europe*, and ſubdued himſelf, would place the Prince of *Orange*'s Name upon the higheſt Pinnacles of Fame, furniſh the greateſt Character imaginable for Hiſtory, give a great and noble Example to future Ages, declare him the Benefactor of the Chriſtian World, and oblige all *Britiſh* Subjects to acknowlege, that he had moſt generouſly contributed his beſt Endeavours for the ſecuring of the Proteſtant Religion, and the free Enjoyment of all our Laws, Rights and Liberties, under a juſt and legal Government, according to his *Declaration*.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 5. Col. 1. Line 33. r. *upon a Review of that bleſſed Occaſion.* p. 8. c. 1. l. 37. dele *in.* p. 10. c. 2. l. 9. after Troops, add *to ſupport him in it.* p. 13. c. 2. l. 16. for it, r. *they.* p. 14. c. 2. l. 39. r. *eaſie.* p. 21. c. 1. l. 38. r. *was not with.* p. 22. c. 1. l. 31. dele *another.* p. 26. c. 1. l. 13. dele *our.* p. 27. c. 2. l. 21. r. *Princes.* p. 30. c. 1. l. 13. r. *the.* p. 32. c. 1. l. 30. dele *upon whole Counties.* p. 37. c. 1. l. 6. after in add *the.* dele *are.* l. 23. r. *Towns.* p. 41. c. 2. l. 3. r. *ſcreening.* p. 43. c. 2. l. 4. dele *and his Deſigns.* p. 45. c. 2. l. 9. r. *inflame.* p. 54 c. 2. l. 32. r. *never fail to furniſh.*